Cacophonous Geographies: The Symbolic and Material Landscapes of Race

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For Luka and Paul

In Memory of Laura Anne Brand

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ABSTRACT

Since the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the election of President Barack Obama in 2008, the country has struggled with questions regarding the salience of racial inequality. While the days following Katrina harshly illuminated these inequalities, the election of the country's first black president indicated that we had made great strides toward racial equality and many hoped that we would move forward in this struggle. Yet the ensuing redevelopment of New Orleans indicates that we still have a long way to go not only in acknowledging that racial inequalities exist but also in understanding their root causes and how they shape our visions for change.

This dissertation takes up the issue of emplaced racial inequality in the redevelopment of New Orleans and considers its implications for the theory and practice of planning. It questions how race operates in and is constituted by space and how space shapes racial experiences. It asks what blacks have to say about their urban experience and what their visions for change are. By comparing blacks' and whites' views regarding the redevelopment of the city, this research explores their epistemological differences and questions which worldviews are reinforced or undermined by the state.

Sited in post-Katrina New Orleans, this research compares blacks' and whites' experiences in three neighborhoods – Treme, Lakeview, and the Lower Ninth Ward. It asks why, given the common history of Katrina, residents in these neighborhoods have such different visions for their futures. It explores how blacks make sense of their racial experiences and use space and their emplaced social networks to overcome the racial disparities they face. By elevating these narratives, this dissertation argues that not only are blacks' and whites' visions for redevelopment distinctly different, but that blacks' visions potentially offer to planning critical understanding of the connections between individuals and communities, between communities and urban space, and a more just and equitable way of reconstructing the city. My critique, from the empirical work presented in this dissertation, is that planning not only fails to fully consider these ideas, but that it obfuscates blacks' worldviews and therefore contributes to an unequal urban sphere.

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We who are dark can see America in a way that white Americans cannot.
And seeing our country thus,
are we satisfied with its present goals and ideals? – W.E.B. Du Bois

It all comes down to a point that is as simple as it is terrible...
This is our land that we don't own... *We have sweat equity in Harlem...*
We have paid for it with our blood... - Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts

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Introduction

> We who are dark can see America in a way that white Americans cannot. And seeing our country thus, are we satisfied with its present goals and ideals? – W.E.B. Du Bois[1]
>
> ...All about us is noise. All about us is noise and bramble, thorn and din, each one of our ancestors on our tongues...We encounter each other in words, words spiny or smooth, whispered or declaimed, words to consider, reconsider. We cross dirt roads and highways that mark the will of someone and then others, who said I need to see what's on the other side. I know there's something better down the road. We need to find a place where we are safe. We walk into that which we cannot yet see... -Elizabeth Alexander[2]

On August 29, 2005 and in the days following, 80% of the City of New Orleans was flooded by levee breaks caused by Hurricane Katrina. The city's black residents represented the majority of those who could not or did not leave – and in trying to survive and make do in the wake of the federal government's painfully slow pace of recovery, these residents were often described by the media as looters and hoodlums, compared with their white counter-parts who were described by the media as survivors making do. Today, nearly seven years after the storm, the majority black neighborhoods that were affected by the flood are still struggling to come back and the city's population has shifted -with over 100,000 black residents having not returned (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Blacks were not only the most affected by the storm, but those least equipped financially to recover within the city and federal government's free market approach to recovery support. Though prior to Katrina, blacks in New Orleans made up the majority of the city's demographic (67% in 2000), they were far more likely to live in poverty, pay a higher percentage of their household income for housing, attend poorly funded and failing public schools, work in the low-paying accommodation and food service industries that dominate the city's tourist economy, rely on public transportation and have no access to a vehicle for evacuating from a storm. Despite these very real differences that shaped weathering the storm and its outcomes, many black communities in the city have begun to rebuild and reclaim their place in the city in powerfully imaginative ways that connect their future environmental, economic, and social security tangibly to redevelopment proposals and visions.

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[1] (Du Bois, 1926)
[2] (Alexander, 2008)

Despite their imagination and aspirations, the city's recovery has continued to be dominated by a biased approach to urban development, one that favors economic and land development over the land and community-based claims of historically black communities. What is perhaps most insidious is that while this approach may (or may not) benefit those least well off, it does so at the cost of displacing them from community roots that provide tangible economic and social benefits. A proactive and emplaced economic and community development strategy has failed to gain momentum over the more typical laissez-faire development approach thus helping to dismantle the black community. At the very least, blacks' aspirations for community development in post-Katrina New Orleans are ignored by this dominant framework. In the worst case, they are undermined.

In 2008, just three years after Hurricane Katrina, the United States elected its first African-American president. At President Barack Obama's inauguration, Elizabeth Alexander (2008) read a poem that marked this day not as the culmination of a long struggle for blacks to achieve greater equality in the U.S., but as the beginning of new possibilities for walking forward "into that which we cannot yet see" and from the struggles and the sacrifices made by those who had helped literally and figuratively build the road to this point. In the years since Obama's election, America has struggled with questions regarding its successes and failures for racial equality, with many claiming that Obama's election marked the end of the country's racist struggles and that race no longer mattered in shaping and determining outcomes such as educational and economic access and advancement or access to affordable housing in vibrant and mixed-use neighborhoods.

These ideologies that deny racial inequality still exists ignore the higher unemployment rates for blacks (which in June 2012 was nearly double that for whites) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012) and the compounding problems of concentrated poverty, poorer public education, poorer job prospects, and significant job losses (Harris-Perry, 2012) that shape the African American community significantly most directly. Although Obama himself has tread carefully around the issue of race since the election, these numbers point to a major crisis and depression in the black community (Bob Herbert and Marian Wright Edelman on Harris-Perry, 2012).

In comparing these two events, Michael Dawson found that after Katrina, 82% of blacks believed racial equality would not be achieved in their lifetime, but that after Obama's election, this dropped to under 50% (2011, pp. 3-10). Consistent across these surveys of black public opinion was the overwhelming belief held by blacks surveyed that their fate was linked to that of race (73% in 2005

and 69% in 2008) (2011, pp. 3-10). Further, Dawson found that there is a marked difference between how blacks and whites perceive the issue of racial equality – with 71% of blacks surveyed in 2008 believing that discrimination was still a major problem in the U.S. and only 32% of whites believing the same (2011, p. 13). Dawson shows that despite this surge in hope in the wake of Obama's election, America remains a place of persistent and structural racial inequality and stark differences in perceptions regarding the salience of persistent racial discrimination. He argues that much political thought and organizing are needed to re-galvanize the country toward working again on goals of racial equality and a renewed commitment to "real democracy", but that within this political thought, critical attention must be paid to the differences between whites' and blacks' worldviews regarding racial justice.

In 2011, now six years after Katrina, DreamWorks pictures released the movie "The Help," based on the 2009 novel by Kathryn Stockett (2009). Stockett's book and the film adaptation, told from the perspective of a young white woman, detail the experiences of black domestic servants in the south during the 1960s. Hailed positively by many critics, actor Wendell Pierce strongly criticized the film for passively displaying the terror of the Jim Crow South and for making segregation palatable to whites (McLeod, 2011). Like Dawson's findings regarding whites and blacks' perceptions about racial justice, Pierce's comments illuminate the differences in how race is often experienced and understood and whether or not it is viewed as salient in shaping urban experience today. Pierce's comments also highlight how the telling of racial experiences is shaped by the race of the speaker and his criticisms show us how the white woman's narrative erases the real terrors experienced by blacks at the time.

Together, these three stories weave together a theme of persistent racial inequality in the U.S. – and the country's struggle and even denial of its salience. These stories not only represent differences in perception regarding the very existence of persistent and systemic racial inequality, much less its causal factors, but in doing so they reveal insidious trends that not only blame blacks for the current forms of inequalities they face (economic, spatial, social, etc.), but also make the very roots and causes of these trends invisible. Further, these stories illuminate how different people interpret the same history and conditions differently and how race is a strong indicator for these interpretations. Although given little attention, particularly in urban planning, these different interpretations of events shape the policies and urban programs that are intended to benefit the city and its inhabitants.

The dilemma of these varied perceptions and interpretations represent different epistemological viewpoints. In other words, they represent very different ways of knowing the world and different beliefs about what is or is not "real". Dawson's (2011) findings best illuminate these contrasts and the "huge gulf between blacks and whites in how to conceptualize, analyze, and interpret the aftermath of the storm" (p. 22). The consistent differences between blacks and whites in interpreting the same event reveals fundamental disagreements about the role of government, the nature of social relations, and the perception of fairness in regards to how the city should be rebuilt in the wake of the storm (Dawson, 2011). For instance, initial proposals regarding rebuilding focused on expending the most resources in the areas the least affected by the storm. While this approach sought to maximize outcomes based on expenditures, it fundamentally ignored the inequalities and structural racial discrimination that shaped (and shapes) blacks' lives in the city and therefore made a more just or equitable approach to post-Katrina development nearly impossible. Further, while the planning processes that eventually took place were held to planning's ideals of democratic deliberation they were not held accountable to racial and economic justice and therefore the plans themselves and the implementation of these plans have little hope of shaping a more equitable city.

Embedded in the epistemological differences between blacks and whites are fundamental disagreements about how the world works (or doesn't) for different groups of people (Spencer, 2000). These ontological differences have deeper roots and expose critical differences between blacks and whites' assumptions about how we should amend racial and economic inequality (if we even agree that it exists). For instance and again drawing on Dawson's findings, the delegitimization and demonization of blacks' opinions in the public sphere discards and discredits the remedies and visions they seek and propose. Perhaps most importantly, this process not only ignores valid interpretations of the world, but also constructs a persistent and hegemonic way of constructing inequality into the spaces of the city and the contours of different, non-dominant groups' lives. Further, in constructing its own hegemony, this view of the world (one in which persistent racial inequality is no longer salient) obfuscates the ways in which blacks attempt to reconstruct place, eradicates their collective political power and their public sphere, and, in charging the individual with the task of eradicating inequality and in assuming fairness and equal opportunity, eradicates the possibility of real change and real democracy. At the heart of these assumptions and engrained ideas of individualism and exceptionalism are not only assumptions

about the way in which democracy and fairness should function, but also assumptions about the way it should function in space. In other words, these differences raise sociological – as well as spatial questions for the practice of democracy.

This dissertation takes up the issue of racial inequality and considers its implications for the theory and practice of urban planning. It considers how race and racism operate in space and how space shapes racial identities. It asks, like Du Bois (1926), what blacks have to say about their experiences of race in the city, what their visions for change are, and how they can "see America in a way that white Americans cannot". Further, it compares and contrasts blacks' and whites' views regarding the redevelopment of the city of New Orleans and questions how specific worldviews are reinforced or undermined by the state and its practices of demonizing certain worldviews, legitimizing exclusive democratic processes, and emplacing unequal outcomes into the spaces of the city.

Sited in post-Katrina New Orleans, this research compares and contrasts blacks' and whites' experiences of place and use of space in three neighborhoods, Treme, Lakeview, and the Lower Ninth Ward, and asks why, given the common history and the common event of Hurricane Katrina, these neighborhoods have such different visions for their future. It questions how blacks make sense of their racial experiences in the city and use space and their emplaced social networks to try to survive and overcome the racial disparities they face both historically and in the wake of Katrina. Finally, in comparing whites' and blacks' visions for their neighborhood's future, this study asks what blacks' visions offer to the field of planning and its spatial work in producing more equitable and just cities.

My findings in this research reinforce the work of black political scholars such as Dawson, but also those working in the field of black geography, such as Haymes (1995), Schein (2006), McKittrick and Woods (2006; 2007), and Tyner (2007) whose empirical reinforces these questions regarding blacks' worldviews and explicitly theorizes the struggle for legitimizing blacks' knowledge of the world as it is situated in space. The importance of and emphasis on space in my research is itself a critique of the practice of urban planning that all too often fails to regard the spatial repercussions for those least-well off when promoting specific development policies and proposals. In part this work often gets carried out with legitimizing language that champions outcomes such as *promoting" healthier living conditions"* and *increasing "opportunities for community investment and economic development"* (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2012) or other generic, yet agreeable language such

as mixed-use, mixed-income, or choice neighborhoods. After all, who doesn't want safer streets, revitalized urban cores, and vibrant, mixed-use neighborhoods?

The problem, at least as I argue in this dissertation, is not only that this language obfuscates the real outcomes for different groups, particularly the deterritorialization of minority groups from the urban core, but also the discussion regarding outcomes itself. Many planning projects proposed are not necessarily aimed at the critical issue and multiple dimensions of urban inequality. This trickle-down approach[3] to planning all too often assumes that those least well off, in this case black residents of New Orleans, will benefit from the city's economic and property development projects while it has simultaneously demonized their worldviews in its *democratic* processes and ignored their spatial practices and connections in its outcomes. Further, planning depoliticizes space and therefore threatens not only the black public sphere, but also the black community's political power.

My findings also reinforce the idea that blacks and whites have critically different spatial epistemologies or ways of understanding, making sense of, and adapting to the city. These differences are highlighted not only in different perceptions regarding the salience and persistence of racial inequality, but also in views about the nature and meaning of urban space itself. Embedded in these contrasting spatial epistemologies are different approaches to development and aspirations for living in the city. For instance, blacks in this study view and use space not only as the site of political and social struggle and liberation, but also as a diagnostic tool for reinforcing their worldview regarding the salience of racial inequality as it is emplaced and codified in the spaces of the city. In comparison, whites in this study view space as non-relational (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000), a practice which reproduces power relations by offering whites a worldview in which space is reified into discrete, Euclidean and individualized parcels. My argument from my findings is that not only are there overlooked contrasts between these worldviews and between whites and blacks' spatial epistemologies, but that whites' spatial epistemologies are reinforced in the practice of urban planning. Ultimately, I argue that whites' spatial epistemologies mirror the dominant development models, whereas blacks' spatial epistemologies offer to planning a potentially more liberatory and equitable way of constructing the city.

[3] Personal communication with Kate Lowe, May 2012.

New Orleans and its Spaces of Racial Inequality

The city of New Orleans is no exception to the issue of racial inequality nor to the struggle over its salience. As a city in the south, New Orleans' racial geographies are complicated by its' unique racial history and its' geography, but they are no less vivid than those we see across the other American urban centers (Campanella, 2006; Hirsch & Logsdon, 1992; Lewis, 2003; Sublette, 2008). The three neighborhoods explored in this dissertation represent the gamut of race in New Orleans. Lakeview is a predominantly white community that is increasingly changing from a middle-class neighborhood to an upper class and exclusive neighborhood since Katrina. Treme is the cultural home of blacks and Free People of Color in New Orleans but, being located on higher ground, has become increasingly vulnerable to gentrification and development pressures in the wake of the storm. Finally, the Lower Ninth Ward is a historical haven for black homeowners, but it is also a neighborhood vulnerable to extinction since Katrina.

Post-Katrina, New Orleans's demographics have shifted and new census data suggest that the impacts of Hurricane Katrina, changing realities in federal support to cities, and new economic realities all are working to substantially impact, disenfranchise and displace the city's black population. While the city's population remains nearly 30% lower than its pre-Katrina population, the majority of this population loss has been in the black community which now makes up only 60% of the city's total population. The three neighborhoods studied in this dissertation show these changes at the micro level and new Census data indicate that these neighborhoods are recovering quite differently. Both the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme neighborhoods have seen a significant loss in their black populations (-13,4652 and -5,086 respectively) since 2000 and in Treme, this shift has also been marked by a significant increase in its white population (+66.9%) since 2000. The New Orleans that is emerging in the wake of Hurricane Katrina is a whiter and more affluent city and while it is still marked by racial segregation, the combined effects of the legacy of racial inequalities and new development pressures on high ground serve the larger trend of transforming the city's racial realities and shaping its expectations.

Arguably, an event such as Hurricane Katrina and the ensuing displacement of residents creates a moment of reimagining the city in the utopic or visionary sense and of reconstructing the city in a literal sense. As James Tyner notes, "space is produced through the interactions of ideas (or discourses) and practices" (2007, p. 218). The reconstruction of the city therefore follows a specific discourse about who is valued and who is not valued, who has a say and who does not, and whose

ideas are heard and whose are silenced. Taking an engaged and ethnographic approach, this research analyzes black and white residents' discourses about the meaning of place, their racial experiences, and their aspirations for future development and questions which discourses planners support and which ones they undermine.

My use of racially descriptive terms like "black" and "white" are intended not to essentialize race, but to access the salience of its experience and to recognize that despite the lack of its biological or physical determinants, "we act as if race is an ontological given" (Schein, 2006, p. 6). Therefore my use of these terms is not to essentialize my findings or to suggest that all blacks feel one way or that all whites feel another way. I am however interested in analyzing the differences and similarities that I uncovered over the course of this research and in elevating and legitimizing blacks' experiences and perceptions. Situated in literatures on place attachment, narrative formation, and urban development, I bring a specific racial lens to this work and therefore rely on extensive, though often ignored or undervalued, literature on black political thought and black geographies. This literature argues, as do I in this study, that while space has always been the site and instrument of racism, it is also the site and instrument of liberation (Haymes, 1995; King, 1991; Malcolm X, 1965; J. Tyner, 2006).

The intent behind this dissertation is 1) make visible and legitimize racial experiences by demonstrating the different ways of life that are typically ignored by planning practice and theory and 2) explore blacks' geographical imaginations and question how these visions contribute to building more democratic and equitable city spaces.

Chapters 2-4 provide the reader with my conceptual framework (Chapter 2), background information on each of these three neighborhoods (Chapter 3), and my research questions, design, and methodology (Chapter 4). Chapters 5-7 are my analytical chapters – each building on the empirical work presented in the previous chapters. These chapters explore each neighborhood's and its residents' perceptions about their neighborhood and their aspirations for redevelopment. Within each of these chapters I discuss the issue of race and the role of planning. In my concluding chapters (Chapter 8-9), I discuss the differences between blacks and whites' spatial epistemologies and the repercussions for the theory and practice of planning.

Chapter 2
Seeing is Believing (And Not Seeing is Believing)[4]
Conceptual Framework

Introduction

> There were spaces and places in which a single person could enter and behave as an individual within the context of the community. A small remnant of that you can see sometimes in Black churches where people shout. It is a very personal grief and a personal statement done among people you trust. *Done within the context of the community, therefore safe.* And while the shouter is performing some rite that is extremely subjective, *the other people are performing as a community in protecting that person...* [emphasis added] (Morrison, 2004, p. 2286)

The idea of protection that Morrison describes above suggests intricate relationships between individuals and communities and between space and racial experiences. Morrison's account reveals that the relationship between the individual and the community, in this case a community of color, is one in which the community performs the act of protecting - creating a safe place where the individual feels comfortable enough to access and share their grief. The space of the church is vital to the community's protection because it provides and contextualizes their refuge – providing a harbor from the everyday and historical effects of discrimination and disenfranchisement. The black church is a *safe place* where the black community can protect individuals as they express their grief or make sense of the oppression they face.

This dissertation explores this relationship between racial experience and place and analyzes the tensions between urban development and racial inequality. I ask not only how black geographies help blacks deal with and challenge racial inequality, but also how these spaces validate the black experience in America in the face of dominant urban development narratives that deny the continued salience of racial oppression. I argue in the following chapters that blacks' claims to space go beyond commodification and exploitation of land and provide for planners a way of conceptualizing the role of space in liberation. To explore blacks' spatial claims and meanings and their contributions to alternative conceptualizations of the urban realm, I draw on black geography literature that is critically overlooked in urban planning. This literature argues that space plays a dialectical role in shaping both hegemony and liberation and that space shapes' our identities and worldviews. Scholars working in this field also argue that "space is used to naturalize and normalize racist ideologies" (Schein, 2006, p. 13). In the following chapter, I discuss my conceptual

[4] My gratitude to J. Phillip Thompson for the title of this chapter.

framework, concluding with a discussion about Du Bois' double-consciousness (1994) and the visual world.

Conceptual Framework

> A geographic imperative lies at the heart of every struggle for social justice. (Ruth Wilson Gilmore, as quoted in J. A. Tyner, 2007, p. 219)

Early in the course of this research, I utilized the concept of neighborhoods operating as "safe havens"[5] (Anguelovski, 2011) or places of refuge for black individuals and communities and considered how black neighborhoods provided a secure physical, psychological, and political space for an individual within a larger context of inequality. This was my entry point into my ethnographic research into three communities in New Orleans, two of which are predominantly African American. While this conceptualization remains true, what emerged during my analysis was a deeper discussion concerning the validation of racial experiences themselves and role of black spaces in shaping blacks' social identities. Increasingly, I have relied on Du Bois' (1994) theoretical conceptualization of blacks' double-consciousness. What I began to call blacks' duality throughout my analytical notes were evidence of their faceted identities that were made up of their own self-reflections, but also the white gaze of oppression (Du Bois, 1994). This theoretical framing has made the most sense to me as I analyzed the data of endless informal conversations, formal interviews, and observations made over the course of my fieldwork. Du Bois' double-consciousness best fits the duality I found among blacks' narratives regarding their experiences in the city – narratives that simultaneously diagnosed their experiences as being rooted in racial inequality and described how these inequalities were inscribed into their neighborhood spaces, while also describing to me how they have and strive to overcome these inequalities and how they refuse to accept a view of themselves as not being worth equality or equal development. While Du Bois' arguments seem most relevant and true to my research, it is my hope that I can here and in subsequent chapters, add to his arguments by considering the relationship between inequality and space and the relationship between liberation and space. Ultimately, my concern for space reflects the field of urban planning within which I find myself and my own personal concern and interest in reflecting on how space becomes complicit in both the projects of oppression and liberation.

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[5] My use of the term "safe havens" is also used by Isabelle Anguelovski (2011) in her findings about environmental justice and community reconstruction in Boston, Barcelona, and Havana. In our dissertation research, we both found similarities in how residents in very different neighborhoods, in very different contexts, seek security in their community development work. I credit Isabelle with this term, which has for my own research become much more about the contestation over space and the vulnerability of black spaces in the city.

My conceptual framework is therefore grounded in an effort to analyze and frame the racial and spatial experiences of inequality. I do this work in contrast to dominant development narratives that invalidate race as shaping urban experience and inequality and therefore undermine the importance of place in constructing racial inequality. I take for granted the fact that, as Michael Dawson (2011) finds in his recent research, race shapes our interpretations of the world and therefore informs our aspirations for how we shape the world. While this was my own conceptual starting point, I found it to be true across my data. Race is at the foundation of this research and, as I show in subsequent chapters, is at the forefront of urban experience. Although race collides with class, I show that race consistently, albeit sometimes tacitly, shapes how the city itself gets made and remade. Throughout this dissertation, I rely heavily on scholars that include Du Bois (1926, 1994) and Dawson (2001, 2011), but also the critical work of black geographers and black political theorists that look specifically at the intersection of race and place. Although this work is largely ignored in urban planning, I have found it to be most salient to my research.

Race and the City

Omi and Winant define racism as a "fundamental characteristic of social projects which create or reproduce structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race" (1994, p. 162). As Malcolm X argued and many scholars of black geography continue to argue, the use of these essentialist racial categories have existed within America's "geographic imaginations", and it is through these racially informed geographic ideologies that normative ideas prescribe "*where* people are to be located" (J. Tyner, 2006, pp. 37-39). So although race has no biological or physical meaning, it is a social construct that has been used and is used to construct and justify difference and social hierarchies. While these social hierarchies play out in political rights and social policies, they are also inscribed into the everyday spaces of our democracy – into our urban centers that readily convey racial and economic difference. Race is experienced socially, economically, politically, and psychologically and it is also experienced geographically. Racial oppression therefore can always be seen not only as a political and social project, but a spatial one as well.

While the spatial aspects of oppression are perhaps easy to see in past strategies of oppression such as slavery and Jim Crow segregation, the racial determinants of inequality have become increasingly hidden by more overt classism and less critical focus on how specific social policies directly disenfranchise and displace blacks and minorities. Research that specifically focuses on

black communities (Crutcher, 2006b; Gregory, 1998; Jennings, 1994, 2004; Pattillo, 2007; Pattillo-McCoy, 2000; Stack, 1974) forefronts blacks' urban experiences and the issue of racial experience in the U.S.. Rather than merely describing the urban problems present in black communities and blaming local residents for their economic and social inequalities, as many sociological studies about the urban ghetto have tended to do, these studies of black neighborhoods contribute to our understanding about how these communities function and even thrive amidst the inequalities, disinvestment, and displacement they have faced. Carol Stack's (1974, 1996) work on black communities shows how they use community and space to survive the economic inequalities they face while Steven Gregory's (1998) study of a black community in New York shows the social organization and activism that binds and supports community residents . Gregory's work shows how black communities contribute to identity formation and social relations, positioning black individuals within local and larger socio-economic and racial processes and hierarchies through which they make sense of their own identity (1998, pp. 11-12). Similarly, Mary Pattillo's (2007; 2000) research explores the issue of place, race, and class and the conflicted spatial, economic, and social role of the black middle class in U.S. cities.

Studies of other minority groups' urban spaces, such as those by Janet Abu-Lughod's (1994b) study of New York's Lower East Side or Mario Luis Small's (2004) study of a Latino neighborhood in Boston's South End also illuminate the tensions inherent in a minority's groups emplacement in the city and the ways in which these groups fight to secure their geographic tenure in the city. For instance, Small's ethnographic study of Villa Victoria shows how the geographic emplacement of urban amenities contributes to the vibrancy and independence of this Puerto Rican community, but also to its isolation and vulnerability amidst larger socio-economic forces. My point here is that while economic marginalization certainly contributes to how the city gets made and remade, raced groups have consistently been more vulnerable to spatial redevelopment policies. My own focus on African Americans here reflects the city within which I undertook this research, but I will argue in later chapters that to think about class without race makes little sense analytically when the economic differences most reflect racial groups.

At a smaller scale, ethnographic studies of specific locations, such as juke joints, neighborhood bars, and churches, indicate how different raced groups use space to make sense of the inequalities and discrimination they face on a daily basis (Harris-Lacewell, 2004; May, 2001). As Harris-Lacewell notes in her introduction to *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET*, blacks use space "to express and explore

important issues of power, inequality, race, gender, and politics" (2004, p. xxiii). May's (2001) research at a local watering hole in Chicago's South Side shows how blacks use everyday spaces to open up and share their daily urban experiences. Studies such as Feldman and Stall's (2004) research in a public housing project in Chicago show how community is formed in the everyday spaces and how through activism, blacks' dignity is maintained despite the failure of public housing policies to create safe and secure places for residents to live.

Common across this research about blacks' experiences are findings that show how black (and minority) spaces – at the scale of the neighborhood and at the scale of the local juke joint provide a safe location where minority or marginalized residents feel comfortable being themselves and are free from the overt and implicit discrimination and racism from the dominant groups' class and social norms (Kelley, 1994). As the quote from Toni Morrison at the beginning of this chapter encapsulates, this body of work is about the relationship between an individual and their community and a community and its larger geographic, political, and social place in society.

It is helpful to think of this body of empirical scholarly work alongside the theoretical work of place attachment theory. Place attachment theory argues that individuals are embedded in their socio-physical environments at the behavioral, cognitive and emotional level (Brown & Perkins, 1992, p. 279), so much so that individuals' identities, histories, memories, and symbolic ties are emplaced in the urban landscape (Altman & Low, 1992; Kefalas, 2003; Low, 1992; Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003; Mallett, 2004; Marcus, 1992; Martin, 2003; Wiese, 2004). Identity is therefore intricately connected to the cultural landscape (Schein, 2006) within which racial formation takes place and is constructed. Similarly, landscape has been understood by anthropologists and place attachment theorists to "encode values and fix memories to places that become sites of historical identity" (Stewart & Strathern, 2003, pp. 1-3). Over time, these scholars argue, the urban landscape codifies and aligns local and national history and shapes how these are experienced in the city.

Place attachment theorists also show that identity formation occurs across multiple scales, from the scale of the home to the scale of the nation. At the national and trans-national scale, identity is often acted upon as a unifying force. Nationalistic claims have to do with religious, ethnic, or even political solidarity and, in the face of increasingly diverse global flows and influences, individuals and groups seek reification of group identities and spatial claims (Kinnvall, 2004). Work on place identity at the national scale can be problematic because different groups construct their identities

through different conceptualizations of the past (Devine-Wright, 1997). In other words, solidarity often obfuscates real differences in memory and meaning. Although my own research questions are not about national identity, they do reflect upon how dominant development ideologies that elevate economic prosperity over racial equality also obfuscate the types of claims to space found in historically black communities.

It is this critique of unifying narratives that I think is most critically engaged by black scholars and scholars in the field of black geographies because they ground their work, as much of place attachment theory fails to do, in the large socio-political processes. As Manzo (2003) notes, although place attachment theory is critical to thinking about the relationship between individuals and communities, much of this work depoliticizes the individual and the work done to emplace emotion and memory. McKittrick and Woods argue that "identifying the 'where' of blackness in positivist terms can reduce black lives to essential measurable 'facts' rather than presenting communities that have struggled, resisted, and significantly contributed to the production of space" (2007, p. 6). Empirical research like Gregory's, McKittrick, and others importantly moves beyond the descriptive tendencies of depoliticized place attachment research and even the racial stereotyping prevalent in the culture of poverty and broken windows theories (Wilson, 1987) to emphasize not only the continued salience of race as shaping urban space and experience, but the tactics that blacks use to overcome systemic and emplaced forms of oppression.

As Steven Hoelscher argues in his study of the white spaces of Natchez, Mississippi, "as sites through which stories and rituals of citizenship are enacted and resisted, landscapes are especially powerful media for dominant groups to present their case to the world" (2006, p. 48). Implicit therefore in the work on black spaces is a critique of the hegemony of white space and of white dominance. Importantly, Hoelscher and others point out how blacks and Latinos are raced, while whites are invoked as the dominant group to which others should aspire or assimilate. Whiteness "is largely (and historically) invisible – at least to the hegemonic readings of race and landscape that presume white to be normal and everything else to be racialized" (Schein, 2006, p. 4). It is with this lens that I think we need to be critical of scholarly research and urban policies that ignore race and racism as both a social and spatial project. We need to critique work that fails to critically engage the social construction of race and the connection that the urban landscape has to structuring racial inequality.

Studies such as Hoelscher's (2006) that show the ways in which the white pillared house comes to represent an idealized set of social relations uncover the ways in which white dominance is exerted in the built environment and the ways in which blacks' memories are erased. Comparatively, studies that demonize black space in the city (Sampson, 2009a) fuel policy and design mechanisms that ultimately erode the symbolic ways blacks and minorities are tied to and use space and dismantle blacks' memories by displacing them from their own built environment. While studies show that fear of others shapes urban space (Caldeira, 1996, 2000; M. Davis, 1990; Low, 2003), design guidelines and policies that allow for these fears to dominate are complicit in moving unwanted people out of the public realm and out of our urban centers (M. Davis, 1990; Newman, 1976).

We should, I think particularly as planners, think of these fears or what Teresa Caldeira (1996) calls "strategies of protection" as contributing to the shape of the city itself. "The city's landscape, patterns of residence and circulation, everyday trajectories, habits and gestures related to the use of streets and of public transportation" (p. 87) are shaped by the ability of some and not others to act on space thus producing a particular urban realm. Research like Caldeira's importantly shows that in addition to shaping the physical spaces of the city, fear shapes social relationships and interactions in public space and justifies the efforts made to maintain carefully controlled social and physical spaces (M. Davis, 1990; Madanipour, 1998). While one of the major themes in this research focuses on order and disorder in the public realm (Sampson, 2009a, 2009b), much of this research fails to consider how order and disorder are socially constructed and further how these classifications lead to a specific set of enforcement and removal techniques and a specific hegemonic spatial order (Body-Gendrot, 2000; D. Davis, 2009).

While there are ample examples of these spatial orderings in the past - slavery, segregation, and past urban renewal policies were always projects that used space as a tool of racism, the use of space to construct a specific racial hegemony has decreasingly dominated empirical work on the city. Yet more recent urban policies and political decisions, such as the creation of empowerment zones, poverty deconcentration, and public housing reform (Briggs, 2005, 2006; Goetz, 2003; Hyra, 2008), have worked against the spatial claims made by minority and low-income groups in the city. Gentrification also often further erodes many minority urban neighborhoods by pricing out residents and dispersing their presence and concentration in the city (Freeman, 2006; Hyra, 2008). More recently, the geographic tenure of non-dominant groups is threatened by environmental

changes and the common understanding that cities will be more sustainable when they provide better, more equitable access to public transportation and denser development patterns - all of which have potentially devastating effects on marginalized and minority communities that are more prone to live in environmentally vulnerable situations and de-valued urban land prime for redevelopment.

Harvey (1985), Soja (1989), and other scholars argue that urban development decisions, in seeking the higher capital gains of new development exploit and fragment urban land (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Thus cities choosing the expected gains from mega-development projects and tourism guide the development of certain projects and policies while ignoring or underfunding others (Altshuler & Luberoff, 2003; Häussermann & Colomb, 2003; N. Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1982). "The spatial organization of American metropolitan areas is not the simply result of individuals making choices in free markets. Rather, federal and state policies have biased metropolitan development in favor of economic segregation, concentrated urban poverty, and suburban sprawl" (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2001, p. 1).

These spatial-economic processes fundamentally make land tenure unstable, particularly for groups with less power to influence development decisions. Despite our knowledge about this instability and while minority residents continue to lose key urban development and planning battles that undermine their community's security and geographic tenure (Baumbach & Borah, 1981; Freeman, 2006), this loss is often not theorized with regards to its relationship to racial disempowerment and deterritorialization (Haymes, 1995), not to mention the emotional and political losses suffered by minority groups (Fullilove, 2005; Pierson, 2006). As Mindy Fullilove (2005) shows and as I discuss my own research here, these forms of displacement have profound and long-lasting effects on the emotional and psychological well-being of residents.

In favoring economic growth and segregation, urban planning leaves little room for the sorts of claims made to emplace and secure the geographic and temporal tenure of non-dominant groups. This economic logic, rather than a social or democratic logic, dominates spatial development decisions and ensures that cities, in the face of current and historical federal disinvestment and the flight of middle-upper class residents from the city, will choose the expected gains from mega development projects and tourism, and policies that remove unwanted urban occupants over the claims to protect spaces that are occupied by socially and economically disadvantaged groups.

Perhaps most importantly, this development framework ignores the implicit link between racism and space and undermines the types of everyday black spaces so critical to black communities and individuals' well-being. As the hegemonic development framework, it also symbolically erodes blacks' claims to the space of the city and to their own communities. As Lynne Manzo argues, marginalized groups fear not only losing their territory, they fear their erasure (Manzo, 2003, 2005; Manzo, Kleit, & Couch, 2008).

Studies of the everydayness of black urban spaces therefore not only contextualize how inequality is experienced and where it is located, they challenge the hegemony of white spatial memories and the spatial aspirations of dominant groups. They help us understand alternative representations and interpretations of the built environment and ultimately help us unravel how the built environment comes to represent (and construct) a set of idealized social relations. For instance, Kevin Fox Gotham and Krista Brumley's (2002) study of a public housing development found that space was critical to public housing residents' agency in challenging the redevelopment of the public housing complex. James Rojas' study of a Latino community in East L.A. similarly shows that Latinos "bring with them a different use of urban space to an already existing built environment. Homes, ciudades, pueblos, and ranchos in Latin America are structured differently both physically and socially than typical American suburbs. Latinos are retrofitting the built environment of East Los Angeles to fit their cultural needs" (2006, p. 177).

It is here that the work of scholars in the field of black geographies is most useful because they fundamentally view the urban landscape as complicit in locating and racing people. Taking up the issue and construction of race in the U.S., the black geography literature theoretically and empirically grounds the role of urban landscape in contributing to black's identities and agency and in structuring urban racial inequality (Haymes, 1995; McKittrick & Woods, 2007; Schein, 2006; J. Tyner, 2006). Take for instance Richard Schein's argument about the cultural landscape, which is worth quoting at length:

> The cultural landscape thus is a material thing, even as it invokes a way of knowing the world, an epistemology that relies in part on vision... Their very presence, as both material 'things' and conceptual framings of the world, makes cultural landscapes constitutive of the processes that created them in the first place – whether through the materiality of the tangible, visible scene or through the symbolic qualities that make them inescapably normative. Cultural landscapes are not innocent. (Schein, 2006, p. 5)

Schein's emphasis on the material and the symbolic is a useful frame for interpreting urban landscapes and different groups' "conceptual framings" of the city. His point about epistemologies is I believe one of the most overlooked areas of empirical work in planning. For scholars working in the field of black geographies, urban landscapes prescribe and control "*where* people are to be located" (J. Tyner, 2006, pp. 37-39), but they are also used as a strategy for racial and ontological survival amidst great inequalities, discrimination, and denigration (McKittrick, 2006; Schein, 2006). Scholars in this field argue that space is the means through which blacks redefine their spatial experiences of racism, articulate their own struggles for survival and freedom (Haymes, 1995, pp. 5-11), and redefine space to be a site of dignity and resistance.

In this sense, racial identities are constructed in and reflective of space (Soja, 1989) and we can examine space as the context of and the means through which people struggle. While everyone derives their identities in part from space and the meanings inscribed in space (Crutcher, 2006a), scholars in the field of black geographies argue that black communities form and develop their racial identities in black spaces and that their racial identities are inextricably tied to the struggle over land and the struggle for their minds (Haymes, 1995; King, 1991; Malcolm X, 1965; J. Tyner, 2006). Blacks construct their identities in space by reflecting on the racial inequalities inscribed into the city's segregated spaces and by establishing positive socio-spatial identities despite the (literal and figurative) conditions of oppression.[6] This duality, or Du Bois' conceptual framework of blacks' double consciousness, helps explain blacks' spatial epistemologies and worldview – their use of space, their perceptions and reliance on emplaced social networks, and their awareness of their racial experiences in the city. These socio-spatial identities are also, as I will show in the following chapters, constituted over time and draw on the relationship between place and its specific racial past. My own empirical work in the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme neighborhoods in New Orleans aligns with what Kelley (1994) and others understand to be a form of resistance to cultural and spatial hegemony.

I do think that to start to unravel the ways in which blacks resist hegemony requires a dialectical framework that simultaneously takes account of how economic, political, and social forces continually produce urban space (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1989) and how different groups produce counter-hegemonic spaces for survival and protection in the modern urban city. This dialectical framework is useful because although macro-economic, social, and political forces shape these

[6] Personal communication with Phil Thompson, December 20, 2011

processes it is in the everyday microenvironment where they are made sense of, interpreted, and enacted. These microenvironments are the everyday places of democratic exchange and practice, the places where we experience and respond to the impacts of democracy and capitalism on space (Allen, 2004), make sense of discrimination and inequality (May, 2001), and challenge cultural and racial hegemony and its spatial production (Kelley, 2002). This dialectical framework is also useful because it allows us to unravel the differences between dominance and resistance, between acceptance and aspirations.

To do this work, we need to know not only what blacks' aspire to and how they interpret the urban landscape – its cultural, economic, and social meanings, but also what is being resisted. Much of the empirical work of this dissertation focuses on understanding the differences between black and white communities and the differences between blacks' spatial epistemologies and what I have come to understand to be dominant, white spatial epistemologies. Since white spaces are normalized and black spaces demonized, it is important I think to analyze and make transparent what whites' spatial aspirations are as well. This allows us hopefully not only to compare and contrast, noting the similarities and differences, but to consider how urban development frameworks reinforce one or the other epistemology.

Although I will discuss this more fully in the following chapters, it is important to note here that since white spaces are considered normal, there is less scholarship, particularly in planning, that discusses whiteness as a territorial epistemology. Some of the work on suburbia is helpful in this (McGirr, 2001), but most useful for my own thinking has been an article by Owen J. Dwyer and John Paul Jones (2000). Their argument focuses on the privileges of whiteness and they theorize that whites' spatial epistemologies are essentialist, non-relational, discursive, bounded, and discrete and that they manifest spatially and in whites' identities (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000). My own findings from my empirical work in a white community add to theirs, but it is my hope that in contrast to this dominant spatial narrative I can add to our understanding of blacks' socio-spatial epistemologies and that through our knowledge of both, we can shape the spaces of cities to be more equitable.

Separate but (Not) Equal – Notes on Ethnic and Racial Segregation and Clustering

> They [black radicals] critiqued a system that promoted integrations as a part of the American Dream but in reality was a further technique that served to subjugate the African Americans. The existence of segregation would not be resolved by integration, because integration was yet another tool of the oppressor, one that retained the basic inequalities in society – namely, the ownership of production – while permitting economic exploitation to continue.... To integrate into a white supremacist society was to negate the spaces of African Americans. (J. A. Tyner, 2007, pp. 229-230)

> Space is not the whole story, but it would be a strange and incoherent one without it. (Self, 2008)

It is interesting that the field of urban planning fails to address the continued salience of urban and racial inequality given that the contemporary city is marked by drastic inequalities that align with the marginalized urban spaces of racial and ethnic groups and are reinforced in spatially based policies such as public education, transit access, and economic development projects. New Orleans' own Master Plan (2012) fails to critically engage the issue of how inequality is spatially and socially structured, despite being written right after Hurricane Katrina made it painfully evident just how disparaging differences between blacks and whites structure loss and recovery. There is an odd presumption of equality underlying much of planning policy that can be seen in this Master Plan, despite what we know about systemic racial discrimination and political disenfranchisement. As Fainstein (2010) importantly points out, planning's over-emphasis on deliberative and democratic processes obfuscates the continued reality of unequal outcomes. In my concluding chapter I will return to this discussion, but here I think it is important to address the issue of racial and ethnic segregation.

While racial, ethnic, or identity "clustering" is accepted by many scholars as socially beneficial and is defined in contrast to the involuntary racial segregation and the detrimental outcomes of social, spatial, and political isolation seen in urban ghettos (Marcuse, 2005; Young, 2000), it seems to me that the question of voluntary versus involuntary segregation is not quite right because it assumes that different groups have equal power to self-segregate and that their spatial claims will not be over-ridden by development's continual transformations of the city to increase capital and improve the visibility of the city.

My critique of this scholarly framework is much the same as my critique of the place attachment literature in that it depoliticizes space. What we need is more comparative work on how different racial, ethnic, and class groups use and territorialize space and how they do so in the face of

development narratives that say 'bigger and newer are better' or 'it will trickle down and benefit the poor and minorities'. Similarly, while some research shows that the geographic concentration of social resources and minority groups can work both to aid underserved communities and to further solidify the boundaries between neighborhoods (Small, 2004), there has been less theoretical work done in planning on how to resolve these tensions. While "liberal theory lacks the conceptual resources to account for the impact of racism on the space in which we encounter one another" (Willet, 2004, p. 244), urban theory lacks a more nuanced understanding of the boundaries between communities and the purpose they serve.

Further, how boundaries are negotiated, how identities are articulated and emplaced, and how power shapes these dynamics has been examined for different individual groups, but not across groups in the city. The problem of how urban planners might better protect minority groups' spatial claims in the face of development pressures and urban change and how they might balance different groups' claims to the spaces of city is critically under-theorized. Further, the role of place in restructuring the urban landscape to alleviate inequality within an unequal democracy is also critically under-theorized (Allen, 2004). To account for this, urban planning needs to engage and critically examine ideas and contentions around community control and self-determination and the spatial boundedness of community making. For instance, to develop a more spatially and racially just approach to urban development processes and outcomes, this theoretical framework would need to engage the spatial repercussions of the claims made by black geographers and black liberation scholars that I discuss above.

Finally, while urban enclaves for historically marginalized groups provide some level of social protection, emotional support, privacy, and political solidarity (Kelley, 1994, 1997; Marcuse, 2005; May, 2001), they also allow reproduce their own practices of exclusion and hierarchies. No neighborhood is immune from reproducing social hierarchies, forms of exclusion, or NIMBYism. While the formation of social, economic, and territorial difference may often have to do with visible identities (Alcoff, 2006), within and between all identity "groups" we see the reproduction of power dynamics and hierarchies and varying practices of exclusion and discrimination – these are not unique to any racial, ethnic, or class group. Within groups there are definite power and identity dynamics between women and men, between residents who have been born and raised in a community versus those who have just moved to a community, etc. and much of these dynamics go unexamined within urban research. This is particularly problematic given planning's' emphasis on

deliberative democracy – which, framed as a representational form of deliberation, often obfuscates difference and disagreement. Some important exceptions to this include Hirsch and Logsdon (1992), Spain (1993), and Pattillo (2007), which importantly address the often hidden tensions within communities.

At times during my fieldwork, I was asked whether or not I thought communities should be "separate but equal". One black activist even said that he secretly was a separatist for the black community. I admit that during the course of my fieldwork and early analytical work, I was unable to come to terms with this question. However, now I believe it to be a deceptive question. Separate but equal was never separate but equal – it was way for whites to dominate and control blacks spatially, as well as socially. Blacks historically had poorer resources, poorer schools, and poorer access to jobs – all of which had spatial components. My own thinking on this false dichotomy has been shaped by the empirical work presented in the following chapters and by scholars such as James Tyner who argue for and theorize about black radical spaces as "alternative geographies" in which blacks are not forced to integrate into white communities (2007, pp. 219-223).

> It is no coincidence that the Black power movement emerged within the context of the struggle for U.S. cities... The urban revolution of black radicals, including Malcolm X and those who followed, was predicated, then, on a political-economic understanding of socio-spatial relations. Eschewing the traditional "integration/segregation" dichotomy, these black radicals advocated a variation of separatism, one that I term *communal separatism*. By this I mean separate communities, such as black towns, wherein African Americans retain political, economic, and social control of their surroundings...the concept of communal separatism is important in that it highlights the political-economic dimension of the integrations/segregation dichotomy. Integration, for these black radical intellectuals, was a capitulation to domination. Access to and control of resources are what mattered. (J. A. Tyner, 2007, p. 226).

My own thinking has increasingly followed this line of thought –that we need to understand the ways in which the deterritorialization (Haymes, 1995) of black communities is the result of a white supremacy – even now. Further, if we can understand that in response to dominant development patterns, economic and political forces, the logic of capital, vast inequalities, and threats of increasing environmental threats, black communities still find meaning, social value, and political solidarity, then we need to uncover the ways that this is true and the situations within which it blooms. We need to know what these places look and feel like, how different groups in the city construct and emplace their identities, and how blacks use space to challenge dominance. Separation doesn't allow for these alternative and radical geographies to shape our own thinking, much less for it to revolutionize the city.

Representing Spatial Meaning – Notes on the Role of Narrative as a Discourse

> Stories need to be told and linked to the landscape so that the landscape embodies the stories. (Hoelscher, 2006, p. 52)
>
> Retelling stories... is a way to triumph over the particularities of historical time, to escape the pain and frustration of day-to-day events. (Ewick & Silbey, 1995, p. 218)

The question of how alternative geographies are constructed amidst urban change and a larger socio-political framework that de-values their claims is not just one of space, but also one about representation. The process of representing blacks' spatial epistemologies requires a process of articulating why these spaces are important and should be maintained. This is a conceptual as well as methodological issue that requires that we analyze the differences between dominant development narratives and alternative aspirations and that we use empirical research to unearth these different narratives.

Markets and urban planning decisions do not just enforce the physical order of the spatial landscape nor continually deconstruct this order, they also structure the city metaphorically and symbolically, and they give urban spatial ordering a certain "public value" (Zukin, 1991), a value that is overwhelmingly an economic one. A continuous reordering of urban space is based not only on the logic of capital accumulation, but different idealized logics: the logic of beauty, monument, function, hygiene, order, and idealized social relations (Hall, 2002). The justifications given by private capital and political regimes to promote urban redevelopment have changed over time. From cleaning up the city, to enticing tourists, to clearing slums, to economic development, to more sustainable development - the language around urban renewal or urban revitalization often obscures the meanings of space for its current dwellers.

Although urban development is guided by pro-development policies and their underlying assumptions, it is also guided by decisions that respond to the larger socio-political context and meanings. Research on gated communities and territorialized spaces has shown that the narratives guiding and justifying these forms of development focus on fear of and threats of crime and/or difference (Caldeira, 1996; Low, 2003). Interestingly, narratives articulating these fears are often reveal heightened fears of crime and of *others* within these communities, which are by all accounts safe. Although this research indicates that perceptions are intricately entwined with the actions that people take and the narratives they use to rationalize their decisions and place making, much

of planning ignores the influence of these dominant narratives. Further, more research is needed that emphasizes the historical, emotional, and even political dimensions and meanings of urban space and how these are represented within the views of marginalized or non-dominant groups.

Narratives therefore play a critical role in the formation and value given to urban space. In the field of urban planning, narratives are particularly pertinent given competing claims to urban space and justification for these claims. More analysis is needed as to how competing claims made by different racial groups influence (or not) the distributional decisions inherent to planning. Overwhelmingly little attention is paid to narratives and to what they convey about issues such as dominance, marginalization, and alternative conceptualizations of urban space. Narrative scholarship indicates that narratives are ways of constructing social identity (Sewell, 1992). Social science scholarship focused on narrative and representation questions the meta-narratives told about specific groups compared with narratives derived and understood from these same groups in the city. For instance, planners often rely on racial and spatial stereotypes and the types of data that emphasize disparity, rather than focusing on the more complex meanings and understandings of space for non-dominant groups. This dissertation argues that by ignoring the multitude of spatial claims and meanings articulated by non-dominant groups, planners continue to reproduce an unequal urban landscape and undermine these claims.

Although narrative scholarship is overlooked in the field of planning, John Forester being an exception (Fischer & Forester, 1993), it provides important conceptual work for planners to consider in their work in shaping the city. Narrative scholarship reflected a turn in the social sciences in the 1990s toward an interest in understanding rhetorical frameworks in social worlds. This shift reflected an understanding that narratives constitute a way of understanding how representation shapes our lived experience and history (Sewell, 1992), or what Somers (1992) calls "ontological narrativity." Therefore narratives have come to be understood as the terrain through which meaning is articulated and experience made sense of. As Sewell (1992, p. 483) shows, narratives are both a form of representation and a way of emplotting oneself in our experiences and histories. "Overtly political" narratives "reveal truth and... unsettle power" (Ewick & Silbey, 2003, pp. 199-208) and are constructed and told through the interaction between storyteller and audience. Further, Steinmetz (1992) notes that the it is through narratives that people coordinate their stories with one another, organize their experiences, and form a coherent social class that relates the individual to the collective and to a place in history.

The devastation brought about through Hurricane Katrina created a moment of reconstituting the City of New Orleans – in a literal sense, as well as in an imaginative and emotional sense. The physical reconstruction of New Orleans neighborhoods, in order to secure psychological and political meaning through geographic security, is not possible without a narrative that 1) demonstrates the *worth* of a community and 2) is strategically directed toward a specific audience. By diagnosing the problems and assigning blame, narratives also conceptualize action. Ewick and Sibley (1995) argue that narratives are a means through which marginalized residents triumph over the particularities of history. Further, they argue that all narratives have three elements: appropriation of past events, temporal ordering of events, and relational parts. Yet in order for narratives to be transformative, they must also prescribe the underlying causality and propose a remedy (Polletta, 2006). However in order to overcome dominant rational and objective views of space and development – which ignore emotional, cultural, and historical place attachments- and to challenge dominant definitions about what is or is not real or valid, narratives must link the particular with the general (Ewick & Silbey, 1995, p. 84).

While scholarships is lacking regarding the interaction of different narratives and the use of comparative frameworks to justify action within the urban realm and while the internal dynamics and power issues at play as a community constructs narratives about their own spatial claims and meaning are less understood, this dissertation argues that narrative scholarship is critical for planning practice. As Ewick and Silbey (Ewick & Silbey, 1995) argue, narratives are the means through which marginalized residents triumph over the particularities of history. Because they appropriate the past, define causality and propose solutions, narratives potentially define new meanings and prescribe new actions for minority residents. In this study, blacks residents' narratives and representations encompass spatial, psychological and political components in response to dominant narratives and in response to devalued representations of their place in the city and they are conceptualized as playing a critical role in articulating and justifying action and support or opposition of specific urban development proposals.

Conclusion: Seeing is (Not) Believing

> The plight of the unescaped, and their fight to find a safe space with the region...are worked out in our geographic system: a broader, and ongoing, history of segregation, violence, and environmental racism, often concealed by partial perspectives and a disregard of the unknowable and unseeable, came clearly into view alongside the spatial, and lived, limits of democracy and citizenship... (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, p. 3)

In the introduction to this chapter, I noted that I would conclude by discussing Du Bois' concept of double-consciousness and the role of the visual world. Although a fuller discussion of Du Bois can be found in Chapters 6-8, I think it is important to note here that there is an emphasis on the visual world in planning and in the dominant white spatial-epistemologies that I explore in Chapter 5 that fundamentally conflicts with the types of black knowledges discussed by Du Bois and uncovered in my research into blacks' spatial-epistemologies (Chapters 6-7). In whites' spatial epistemologies, their emphasis on the visual world is both material and symbolic. As we will see in the following chapters, whites overwhelmingly emphasize a specific type of material order (cleanliness, keeping properties "up", etc.) and reify this idea into urban space by trying to control who is and who is not accepted and allowed into their community. Whites in this study use planning and planning tools to do this. I argue in Chapter 5 that although this narrative most often outwardly focuses on economic hierarchies (e.g. whites say it is about class and not race), it cannot be disentangled from whites' normalized racial hierarchies. Their view of blacks not only defines black bodies as dangerous and disorderly but also symbolically displaces them from acceptable urban realm. As we'll see in my discussions regarding gentrification tensions in Treme, whites also normalize their own spatial practices while demonizing those of blacks. They therefore use policy and new bureaucratic norms to delegitimize blacks in their own community. Further, this symbolic/material ordering undermines blacks' knowledge that the city is shaped by racial AND economic inequality and delegitimizes their claims that development specifically undermines black communities. Because whites' epistemologies ignore race, they make the types of claims made by black communities invisible.

Katherine McKittrick argues that "particular kinds of bodies, one by one, are materially (if not always visibly) configured by racism into a hierarchy of human and inhuman persons" (Ruth Gilmore, as quoted in McKittrick, 2006, p. xv). She argues, as do I in this dissertation, that we need to question the "naturalization of bodies and places" in order not only to diagnose the ways in which racism still structures space and identity, but to think about "alternative spatial practices and more humanly workable geographies" (2006, p. xv). In her own discussion of Du Bois, McKittrick

notes that his focus on blacks' double consciousness is materialized in black geographies and the "two worlds" that they inhabit (McKittrick, 2006, pp. 22-23). For blacks inequality IS visible and lived, but they can see that this view of the world is not commonly accepted.

My point here is that while there is an emphasis on the visual order of the city within dominant narratives, we need to be careful in uncovering how vision itself is structured – how different groups fundamentally see, or do not see, the places of racial inequality. Whites' visions of the city, as presented in this dissertation, are ones that reject blacks' claims that the city functions differently for blacks and whites. In contrast, blacks' interviewed in this dissertation view their places in the city as both denigrated and beautiful. They can "see American in a way that white Americans cannot" (Du Bois, 1926).

Chapter 3
Research Settings

Introduction

This research examines issues of race and place in three neighborhoods in New Orleans: Treme, Lakeview and the Lower Ninth Ward. These neighborhoods represent three historically racialized groups in the city –Free People of Color or Black Creoles, Whites, and African-Americans or Blacks respectively, and the racialized geographies that have both constituted and been constituted by and for these racialized groups. As a city in the south, New Orleans underwent its own processes of urban slavery, segregation, and discrimination – all of which drew upon the national processes of racialization and discrimination, but which also had their own specific geographic and racial/social implications in this urban setting.

This chapter fits into and sets the stage for later analytical chapters (Chapters 5-7) by asking how these racialized cultural landscapes were created over time and how they played a role in the process of racialized geographic meaning. While Chapters 5-7 deal with what the racialized landscapes mean to each respective group and how they are used, this chapter pays particular attention to history and its critical role in shaping what will later be explored as different perceptions, ways of viewing the world, ways of valuing place, and the different ways that place and landscape and their racial repercussions are actively used by both residents and planners to respond to new realities and racial/demographic shifts that have come about in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. The racial tensions that form the basis of each neighborhoods' physical and social development within the larger contextual history of the city and its urban landscapes are apart of the current narrative of spatial meaning and the rational for planning action.

As the history and landscape play distinct roles in how place continues to work in favor of racial difference and different ways of knowing and understanding the world, each neighborhood is discussed below in terms of its development and racial history, and its political, social, and physical landscape.[7] An overview of New Orleans' racial geographic history is briefly discussed in order to provide perspective on how these three neighborhoods fit into citywide dynamics. Finally, post-

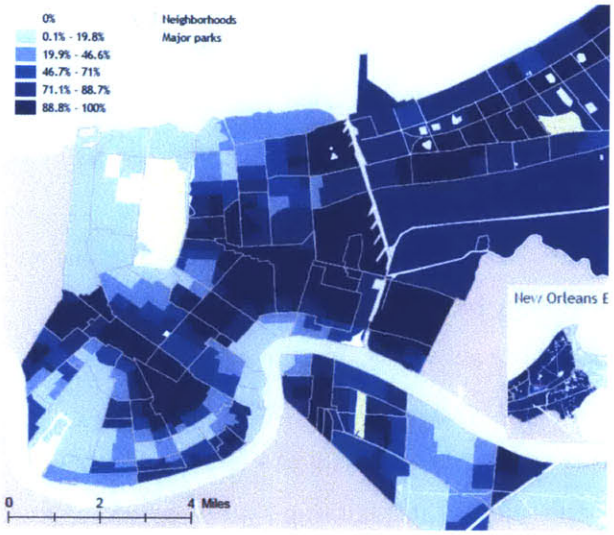
[7] Although I present the information linearly, it should be noted that the use of the past and historical narratives are critical part of black residents and activists' discussions about the meaning of their place in the city. This itself raises interesting questions regarding the perception of time and spatial meaning, questions not fully explored in this research due to time constraints.

Katrina planning efforts and current demographic and development changes are discussed as they relate to each neighborhood.

Emplacing Racial Geographies: Overview of Demographics and Place in New Orleans

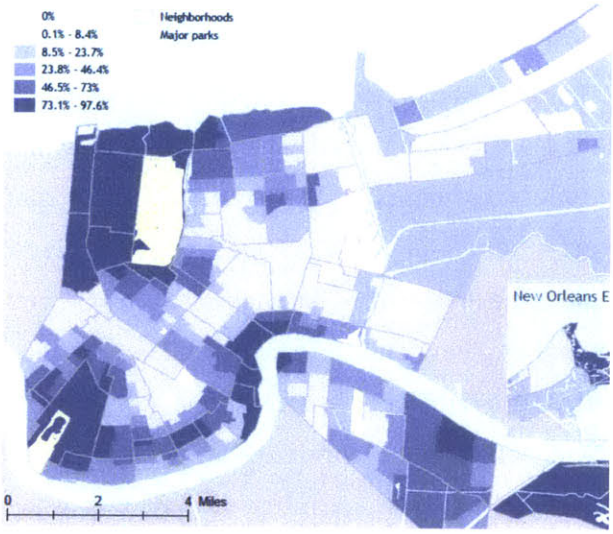
Like many US cities, New Orleans' history of racialized geographies has taken place at multiple geographic scales. From the regional scale to the city level to the neighborhood to the segregated public facilities, racial geographies in New Orleans have influenced and been influenced by daily life, planning, and public policies. While the post-Jim Crow era is obviously marked by less overt methods and measures of segregation, intense racial segregation remains across the city and with it remains racialized differences in economic, educational, and other quality of life realities (Figures 1 & 2).

Figure 1: Percent African American by Census Block Group, Orleans Parish



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

Figure 2: Percent White by Census Block Group, Orleans Parish



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

While population decline in New Orleans mirrored other US cities, with increasing suburbanization and white flight starting in the 1960s and the subsequent shift toward a majority African American city, New Orleans' internal racial geographies have always been complicated by the reality and geographic realities of urban slavery, racial differentiation, and urban segregation.

Across the south, slavery and segregation took a pattern distinct from the north. In New Orleans, urban slavery and segregation were shaped by from topography, commerce-related development

patterns and racial difference/hierarchies (Campanella, 2006; Lewis, 2003; Sublette, 2008). Blacks, people of color, and immigrants historically lived in lower-lying areas of the city (both north and east of the French Quarter), while the higher ground was reserved for whites, including the growing American sector west of the French Quarter (Campanella, 2006; Lewis, 2003). Early urban development oriented toward the river for commerce set the initial patterns of wide boulevards and long narrow lots with river frontage. Within this general pattern, urban slavery and the demand to have domestic servants living close at hand further influenced the urban form by locating larger houses owned by whites along these wide boulevards with blacks living in smaller houses on smaller lots on internal blocks within what might be considered majority white areas. Therefore, New Orleans had a complicated form of segregation with blacks and people of color living in low-lying areas and within white neighborhoods that were developing to the west of the French Quarter, a pattern that continues today.

This complicated racial geography was made more so by the unique racial hierarchy that has further shaped development patterns and socio-economic relations in the city (Campanella, 2006). Although "race" is a social construct that has no biological determinants, it has been and is used to define hierarchies between groups of people and to justify tangible outcomes in terms of economic, geographic, and political advantages. Historically, blacks or African-Americans were referred to as "negroes," a distinctly American term that denied blacks their history and a geography.[8] As Malcolm X argued, "'Negroes' do not exist outside of America's geographical imaginations, for they are a construct of American racial ideologies" (as quoted in J. Tyner, 2006, p. 37). The use of the term "African-American," fought for in the 1960s civil rights and black power movements, at the very least brings together the notion of identity, history, and geography whereas terms like "the urban poor" deny these same connections and obfuscate the issue of race as it is used to connect issues of identity and place.[9][10]

New Orleans' had its own definitions and terms for its unique racial hierarchy. Because of New Orleans' history of French and Spanish occupation, slaves were able to buy their own freedom, producing a substantial population of Free People of Color. Further, with Spanish, Caribbean, and European ancestral lines, extensive racial intermixing led to the formation of a new social or racial

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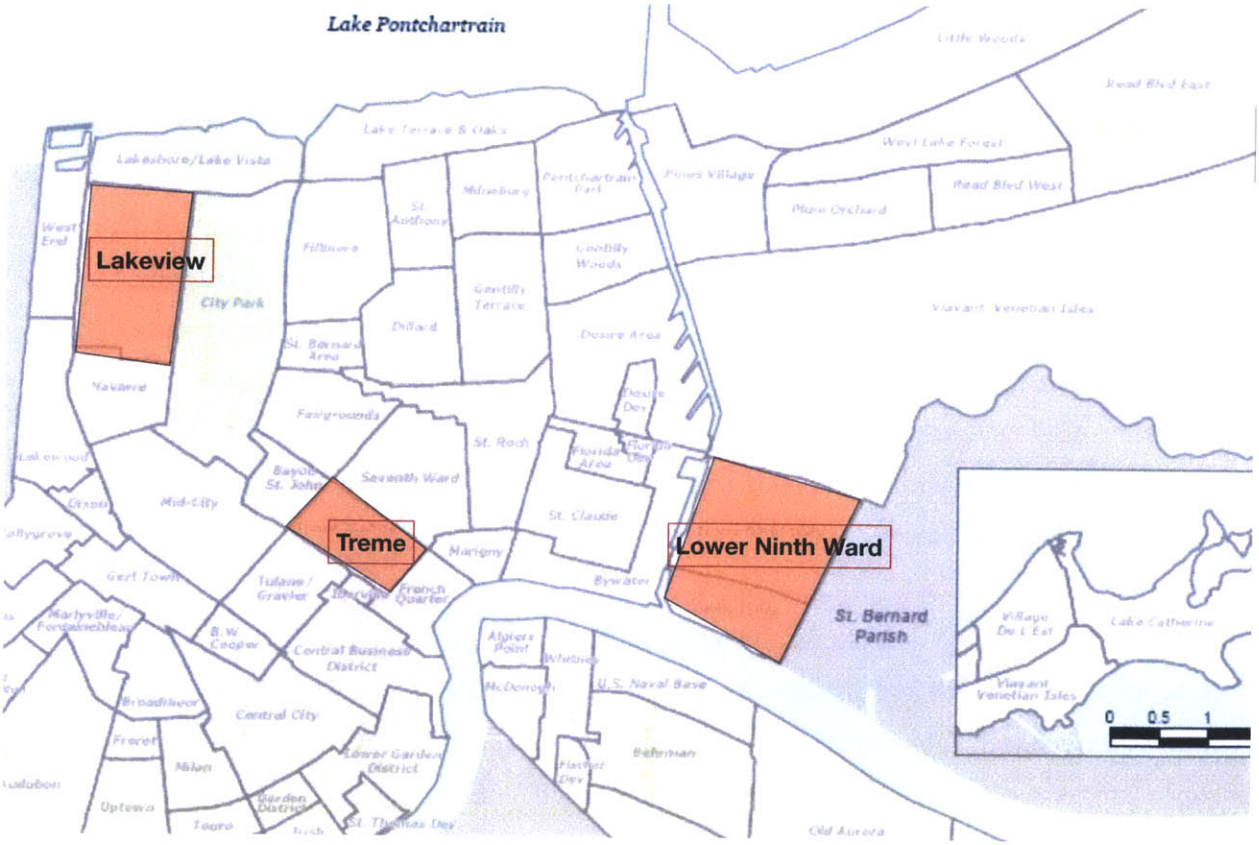
[8] Personal communication, Phil Thompson, January 23, 2012
[9] Personal communication, Phil Thompson, January 23, 2012
[10] As this dissertation is focused on highlighting issues of race and its urban spatial expression and experiences, I will employ the use of the term "black" or "African American" throughout my analysis and arguments (See Chapters 4 and 5 for further discussion on my use of this term).

caste, the Creole community, which largely settled in the Treme and Seventh Ward neighborhoods just north of the French Quarter (Figure 3). Black Creoles in New Orleans have historically separated themselves from African-Americans (both literally and physically), setting themselves apart (as an identity group) and above other blacks (Hirsch & Logsdon, 1992). The complexity of racial hierarchies and the active use of these hierarchies cannot be overstated in shaping the experience and formation of race and place in New Orleans. Free People of Color and Black Creoles defined themselves by their blood lines (e.g. a quadroon is defined as someone with ¼ black blood, a mulatto with ½ black blood, and an octoroon with 1/8 black blood), in opposition to European Creoles, and by their ability to pass as white, or passé blanc. Creoles had more status than African-Americans in New Orleans and were able to own land and businesses, have bank accounts, lend money, marry freely, and even own slaves. Finally, women under Napoleonic code were able to own and manage property, a practice that particularly dominated in Treme.

Figure 3: Neighborhoods in Orleans Parish



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

While this earlier form of internal racial diversity at the neighborhood level lingers on in many of the city's 73 defined neighborhoods today, highly segregated neighborhoods such as the Lower Ninth Ward and Lakeview came about through both the end of slavery and the emergence of Jim Crow segregation and through new technologies that allowed the city to expand geographically. Although New Orleans' population reached its peak in the 1960s (Table 1), the expansion of available land in the early 20th century made it possible for white flight and increasing segregation to occur within the city's boundaries. Geographic expansion until this point was limited because the majority (80%) of what now constitutes the city was uninhabitable swampland. Although the lakefront area had a few railroad extensions to amusement parks on the naturally high ground at the lake, flooding still dominated this area of the city. Expansion to the east (toward what is now the Lower Ninth Ward) was prohibited because of flooding and because the Orleans Parish Levee District had been slow to provide flood protection an area of the city that was dominated by working-class immigrants and people of color and that had little economic or political influence (Lewis, 2003, p. 63). Therefore, until the early-mid-20th century, increasing population was accommodated internally by subdividing larger plantation style lots that bordered the river into narrower lots, which would come to be typical of New Orleans' style development and also give rise to the use of long, narrow houses or shotgun houses to accommodate the lot dimensions.

However, the possibility of geographic expansion came about with the invention of a heavy-duty pump that made it possible to drain the back swamps north of the existing development and in 1899, New Orleans' passed legislation to install a pumping and drainage system to expand the city (Lewis, 2003). Development began to move toward the lakefront but "the Wood pump, as it turned out, was a powerful agent to accelerate racial segregation in New Orleans" (Lewis, 2003, p. 67). Legally condoned through Jim Crow rules and because new development was expensive and real estate agents would not sell to blacks, the area toward the lake emerged as an affluent white area of the city. Although predominantly black areas of the city eventually benefit from the new technology, these areas were the last to be drained (Campanella, 2006; Colten, 2005; Lewis, 2003).

Racialized landscapes continued to be shaped by inequitable policies and development patterns. As the city expanded toward the lake from the 1920s onward, the city and the New Orleans levee district redesigned and redeveloped the lakefront, creating a new sea wall 3,000 feet out into the lake and thus creating over 2,000 acres of new waterfront development that would eventually be used for both leisure and park space, a municipal yacht harbor and private suburban-style

development (Lewis, 2003). However, the city's investments in the areas toward the lake were not mirrored in investments east of the French Quarter in areas where blacks and people of color lived. Still, in order to develop and sell quickly, residential properties in these newly developed areas were often developed on concrete slabs laid on sand and houses were not raised to avoid surface level flooding. As the city expanded to its current geography, one thing held true across these racialized landscapes – the land reclaimed by the pumps and drainage systems was prone to flooding and settlement and this remains true across the city.

Alongside white flight toward the lake, increased suburbanization did occur both within Orleans Parish and to outlying suburban parishes.[11] As in many cities, the retail center moved out to the suburbs with the completion of Interstate 10 and typical US suburban style developments, such as the predominantly black New Orleans East, emerged in the 1970s. With the increased suburbanization of middle-class blacks to New Orleans East and whites to areas like Lakeview and the suburbs, the Treme neighborhood's population declined significantly between 1960 and 1970 - representing a loss of over 5,000 residents, the majority of which were white (Table1). The exodus of whites in the 1960s represented a real population loss of over 65,000 whites and a real population gain of 33,833 blacks between 1960 and 1970. Although the City of New Orleans was a majority black city even in the early 19th century during slavery and segregation, the black population within the city has steadily grown since 1860 and blacks once again became the majority in 1980.[12] Although the city population has continued to decline since the 1960s, the black population continued to gain population in real numbers and in relative percentages between 1970 and 2000 and prior to Katrina, blacks represented over 65% of the city's total population.

As discussed below and in the final section of this chapter, Katrina has also brought about substantial demographic changes[13], including a loss of over 140,000 residents between 2000 and 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010). The most substantial changes have been in terms of the

[11] Although white flight in many northern American cities was made possible through American GI bills and federal investments in highway expansion and suburban development and was fueled by whites responses to court mandated school desegregation, in New Orleans the geographic expansions made possible by the Wood Pump made white flight within the city and to the suburbs possible.
[12] Although blacks have represented the majority of the city's population and have gained political power in terms of local representation, this has not drastically altered the racial inequalities in the city. This point is discussed further in Chapter 5.
[13] Although I am using 2000 Census data in this comparison, the real population numbers in the city were estimated to be lower in 2005 when Katrina hit than the 2000 numbers shown in these tables.

racial dynamics, including a loss of black residents and an increase in Hispanic residents. I return to 2010 data below.

Table 1: Race in New Orleans, Treme, Lakeview, and the Lower Ninth Ward, 1940-2010								
Treme, 1940 - 2010								
	1940	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Total Population	21,282	23,585	21,089	15,701	12,002	9,299	8,853	4,155
Total Black Population	11,211 / 52.7%	14,891 / 63.1%	15,757 / 74.7%	13,740 / 87.5%	11,380/ 94.8%	8,854 / 95.2%	8,180 / 92.4%	3,094 / 74.5%
Total White Population	10,030 / 47.1%	8,643 / 36.7%	5,301 / 25.1%	1,933 / 12.3%	594 / 5.0%	402 / 4.3%	434 / 4.9%	724 / 17.4%
Lakeview, 1940 - 2010								
	1940	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Total Population	4,670	9,508	14,226	12,709	10,612	9,883	9,875	6,394
Total Black Population	19 / .04%	20 / 0.2%	8 / 0.1%	14 / 0.1%	7 / 0.1%	18 / 0.2%	69 / 0.7%	217 / 3.4%
Total White Population	4,651 / 99.6%	9,483 / 99.7%	14,180 / 99.7%	12,689 / 99.8%	10,535 / 99.3%	9,764 / 98.8%	9,283 / 94.0%	5,637 / 88.2%
Lower Ninth Ward, 1940 - 2010								
	1940	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Total Population	11,556	19,215	33,002	32,652	27,289	22,308	19,515	5,556
Total Black Population	3,617 / 31.3%	8,884 / 46.2%	22,316 / 67.6%	25,995 / 79.6%	24,392 / 89.4%	20,749 / 93.0%	18,598 / 95.3%	5,136 / 92.4%
Total White Population	7,992 / 68.6%	10,301 / 53.6%	10,644 / 32.3%	6,569 / 20.1%	2,733 / 10.0%	1,454 / 6.5%	585 / 3.0%	238 / 4.3%
Orleans Parish, 1940 - 2010								
	1940	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Total Population	494,537	570,445	627,525	593,471	557,515	496,938	484,674	343,829
Total Black Population	149,034 / 30.1%	182,631 / 32.0%	233,514 / 37.2%	267,347 / 45.1%	308,149 / 55.3%	307,728 / 61.9%	322,793 / 66.6%	204,866/ 59.6%
Total White Population	344,775 / 69.7%	387,814 / 68.0%	329,594 / 62.6%	324,296 / 54.6%	236,987 / 42.5%	173,554 / 34.9%	128,923 / 26.6%	104,770/ 30.5%
Source: U.S. Census Bureau								

The effects of this suburbanization on blacks in the city meant economic shifts in terms of resources and development shifts in terms of planning projects intended to protect and revitalize the historical core of the city. In the 1960s, a fight to oppose a proposed highway overpass along the river downtown resulted in the I-10 overpass being placed in the Treme neighborhood (see below) (Baumbach & Borah, 1981). Similarly, the removal of historically black and Creole-owned homes in Treme resulted in the construction of Louis Armstrong Park (see below). These types of projects that devastated black neighborhoods are typical of the types of planning and development

interventions made since the 1960s, many of which have served to further polarize the black and white communities in terms of urban resources and amenities.

Like many U.S. cities, New Orleans' racial differences are marked in stark contrasts between blacks and whites in terms of employment and income, education, and other quality of life measures, including crime and poverty. In 2000, while blacks represented 67% of the population (Table 2), they were far more likely to live in poverty, pay more than 30% of their household income on housing, attend public school, rely on public transportation, and work in accommodation and food service industries (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). However, prior to Katrina, blacks in New Orleans were NOT less likely to own homes (i.e. homeownership in the Lower Ninth Ward was well above the city average) and were likely to have lived in their neighborhoods for over 30 years and relied on social networks such as grandparents for childcare and family members for transportation (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

As discussed in the introduction, new Census data suggest that the impacts of Katrina, changing realities in federal support to cities, and new economic realities have most impacted the black population in the city. As noted above, the City has lost nearly 30% of its population since 2000, resulting in a population that is now fewer than 60% black and nearly 30% white (Table 2). In terms of real numbers, this population decline is represented in a population loss of over 115,000 blacks and just over 24,000 whites, with a slight increase in the Hispanic population (just over 3,000 documented residents). In each of the three neighborhoods studied in this dissertation, the 2010 Census data also represents demographic change. Although I return to new demographics within my discussion of each neighborhood below, for now it should be noted that the Lower Ninth Ward shows the most population loss since 2000 of all three neighborhoods, with a loss of over 13,000 residents. Both the Lower Nine and Treme have seen a loss in their black populations (-13,462 and -5,086 respectively), while Treme has seen a substantial increase in its white population since 2000 (+66.9%) (Table 2). Interestingly, while Lakeview has lost over 30% of its population since 2000, there has been some growth in its black and Hispanic populations.

However, simply looking at demographic differences and similarities over-simplifies the dynamics and realities racial experience and ignores the undercurrent of place attachment and racially derived geographic meaning. The following sections briefly discuss both the demographics and the

history of each neighborhood in order to preview the findings discussed in the analytical chapters of this dissertation.

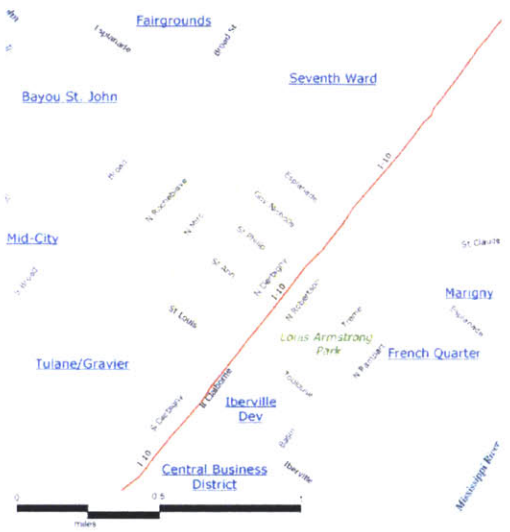
Table 2: Population and Racial Demographics, New Orleans, 2000 - 2010				
Total Numbers	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers**
Orleans Parish				
Population	484,674	343,829	-29.1%	-140,845
Total households	188,251	142,158	-24.5%	-46,093
Treme				
Population	8,853	4,155	-53.1%	-4,698
Total households	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Lakeview				
Population	9,875	6,394	-35.3%	-3,481
Total households	4,524	2,672	-40.9%	-1,852
Lower Ninth Ward				
Population	19,515	5,556	-71.5%	-13,959
Total households	6,802	2,101	-69.1%	-4,701
Racial & ethnic diversity	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers**
Orleans Parish				
Black or African American	66.6%	59.6%	-36.5%	-117,927
White	26.6%	30.5%	-18.7%	-24,153
Hispanic (any race)	3.1%	5.2%	20.1%	3,026
Treme				
Black or African American	92.4%	74.5%	-62.2%	-5,086
White	4.9%	17.4%	66.9%	290
Hispanic (any race)	1.5%	5.4%	70.2%	93
Lakeview				
Black or African American	0.7%	3.4%	213.9%	148
White	94.0%	88.2%	-39.3%	-3,646
Hispanic (any race)	3.7%	6.0%	4.8%	18
Lower Ninth Ward				
Black or African American	95.3%	92.4%	-72.4%	-13,462
White	3.0%	4.3%	-59.3%	-347
Hispanic (any race)	0.8%	1.8%	-35.9%	-56
Souce: U.S. Census				

Treme

Walking down the streets in Treme, you immediately notice how different the development pattern is here compared with either Lakeview or the Lower Ninth Ward. This neighborhood is one of New Orleans' oldest and, according to Census 2000 data, nearly 70% of homes were built before 1949 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Shotgun houses, double shotguns, and Creole Cottages are typical of the residential fabric and corner stores and local bars originally occupied many corners. Houses are built up to the sidewalk with narrow stoops allowing for residents to sit on their stoops and socialize (Chapter 5). Treme is also a neighborhood of sounds and smells –with second line parades and jazz funerals dominating the weekend and the scattered remaining local bars and restaurants taking up corners within this neighborhood.

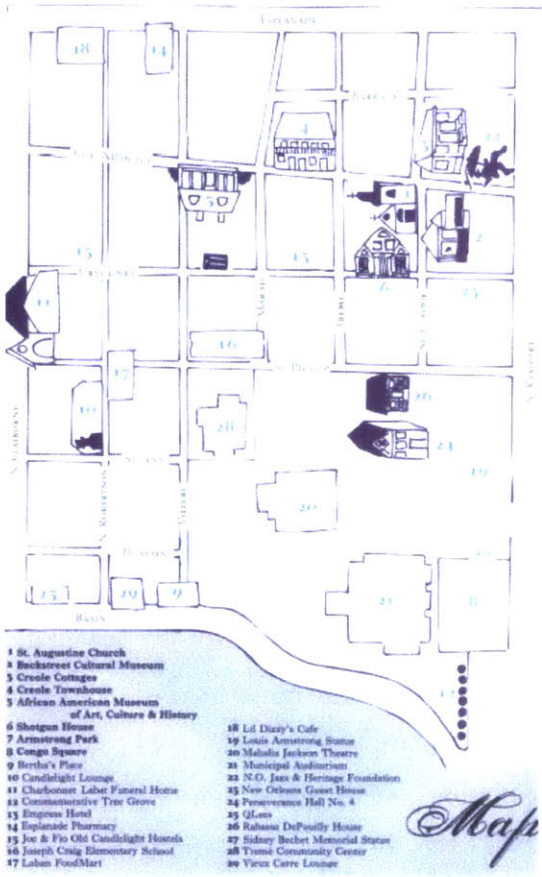
Although of course mired in the national process of racialization and domination of blacks, Treme is both geographically and socially born of the unique process of racialization in New Orleans. Founded in 1810 and located just north of the French Quarter (approximately 0.8 miles), Treme is divided internally into Historic Treme (bordered by Rampart St., Esplanade Ave., Claiborne Ave., and St. Louis) and the larger Treme/Lafitte neighborhood (extending further north to Broad St.) (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Map of Treme



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

Image 1: Historical Map of Treme



Source: New Orleans African American Museum

Treme is the oldest neighborhood of Free People of Color in the United States. By the 1800s, it was a prosperous and thriving community and by the 1950s, it had a vibrant economic corridor of black-owned businesses down Claiborne Avenue (GNOCDC, 2000). Originally a plantation owned by Claude Treme, the land was subdivided for development and by the late 19th century, Treme had expanded rapidly into a fully developed residential neighborhood that was mixed with small corner stores, local bars, music halls and restaurants. As Creoles and Free People of Color accumulated wealth, they also built larger homes along Esplanade Ave., but internally smaller lots with shotgun homes and Creole cottages dominated the neighborhood. Two public farmers markets, the Treme Market and Rocheblave Market, served the neighborhood between 1841 and 1911 and St. Augustine Church, dedicated in 1842, was historically known to welcome free and enslaved blacks to worship.

The neighborhood formed its social and physical fabric out of its racial difference and the freedom's given to Black Creoles and Free People of Color to own land and businesses. Free People of Color and Black Creoles literally shaped the neighborhood with extensive building trade business and high rates of property ownership, particularly by women. The network of carpenters, plasterers, brick masons, and electricians built the neighborhood itself and many homes throughout the city. Congo Square, one of the only places in the city that blacks (both free and enslaved) were allowed to congregate dating back to the 18th century, was located in Treme and was the site where African-Americans (including a large population of blacks of Haitian descent) came together on Sundays to drum and dance, exchange news, and sell produce and other goods. The ability to congregate meant that African traditions such as dancing and drumming could be maintained and cultivated, (eventually cultivating the foundation for jazz). The ability to trade and sell goods and services in Congo Square, as well as the ability to own property and businesses in Treme, contributed to blacks' ability to purchase their own freedom from slavery.

Although because of the racial mixing and the ability for blacks to purchase their own freedom produced a vibrant black neighborhood within a wider citywide landscape of intense segregation, discrimination, and disinvestment, blacks still lived economically and socially inhibited lives through the time of slavery and Jim Crow segregation. In response to basic inequalities, benevolent societies and social aid and pleasure clubs emerged to assist blacks. These social organizations, which emerged as early as the late 18th century, provided members with financial and burial assistance and continued to observe traditional ceremonial practices for burials. These social organizations also contributed to the social dynamics of Treme, which became known for its second-line parades, jazz funerals, and local bars and music halls like Joe's Cozy Corner, Caldonia's and Economy Hall.

By 2000, although Treme was seeing the gradual gentrification of its boundaries near the French Quarter, the neighborhood was still mired in the extreme racialized differences that characterize the Lower Ninth Ward and so many black urban areas in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). With an average household income of $18,732, the majority household incomes below $15,000, and nearly 60% of its population living in poverty (including a staggering +80% of children under 5 living in poverty) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000), Treme, known as the cultural heart of the city and the birthplace of jazz, second lines, and brass bands, was suffering from years of disinvestment, poor education, poor employment prospects.

However, like the Lower Ninth Ward, Treme is known for its intense family networks embedded within the community. Although Treme's population is slightly younger than that in Lakeview, it mirrors the Lower Ninth Ward in terms of distribution of its age groups and the reliance on grandparents for the supervision of its children (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The majority of Treme's youth are enrolled in public schools and over 50% of residents age 18 or older have either a high school diploma/GED or some college level education (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

2010 Census data begin to show some major shifts in the Treme neighborhood, including gentrification (Table 3 and Appendix A). For the first time since the 1940s, the population of whites in Treme has increased to 17.4% of the neighborhood's population (Tables 1 & 3). The neighborhood has lost about 50% of its population since 2000, which should be attributed to the combined changes in the neighborhood including closure and rebuilding of Treme's two main public housing projects, Lafitte and Iberville, the effects of Hurricane Katrina, and gentrification. However, as with other neighborhoods and the city in general, the 2010 census numbers represent a significant change in size and the location of the black population, with Treme losing over 5,000 black residents since 2000. While Treme residents were able to resist earlier waves of gentrification due to their "active resistance and the neighborhood's proximity to public housing projects" (Crutcher, 2006a, p. 33), the 2010 population numbers indicate that this has begun to shift and that gentrification has been fueled by new redevelopment proposals and by the effects of Katrina making higher ground more valuable.

Table 3: Treme Demographics (Population and Race), 2000 - 2010				
Total numbers	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Population	8,853	4,155	-53.1%	-4,698
Total households	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Family households	2,064	827	-59.9%	-1,237
Racial & ethnic diversity (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Black or African American	92.4%	74.5%	-62.2%	-5,086
White	4.9%	17.4%	66.9%	290
Asian	0.1%	0.4%	80.7%	7
American Indian	0.3%	0.3%	-54.8%	-15
Other	0.3%	0.6%	-5.9%	-2
2 race categories	0.5%	1.4%	31.0%	14
Hispanic (any race)	1.5%	5.4%	70.2%	93
Source: U.S. Census				

Beyond population and racial demographics, 2010 Census data indicate that Treme has lost nearly 50% of its elderly population and that the majority of its population loss has been in residents under the age of 35 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010).[14] There has been also drop in female headed households since 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010). Finally, between 2000 and 2010, Treme lost over 1,500 total occupied housing units, while the number of vacant units rose over 35% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010). Although the majority of occupied units are still renter occupied, this number has shifted, with nearly 35% of homes in Treme being owner-occupied in 2010, compared with under 22% in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010).

Lakeview

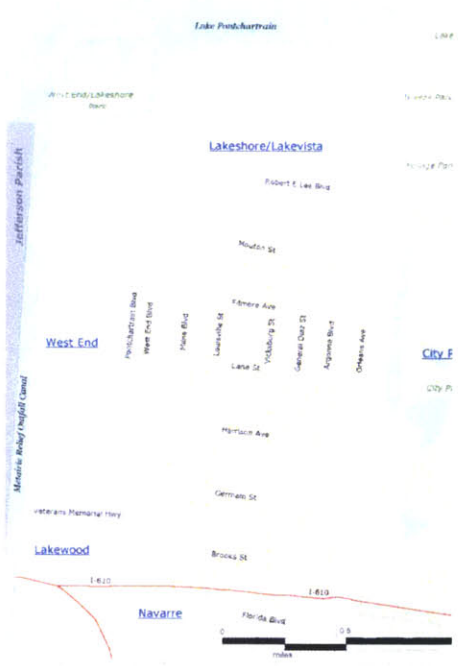
As noted above, Lakeview is both a product of racial tensions and technology. Located along Lake Pontchartrain and adjacent to the Jefferson Parish line, Lakeview is approximately 5.3 miles northwest of the French Quarter. Lakeview's development, made possible by the city's drainage and pumping system, spurred resort-like and suburban style development patterns. 1950s on-slab bungalow style houses dominated Lakeview's residential areas and original homes were built with deep setbacks on large lots. "Lakeview was one of the first residential areas to develop in response

[14] Note: Full comparisons of 2000 and 2010 Census data are located in the appendices of this dissertation. For the sake of clarity, some of this comparison is presented in this chapter in Tables 3-5.

to the potential beauty and leisure time enjoyment of the land near Lake Pontchartrain." Similar to Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward, prior to Katrina Lakeview was a neighborhood known for its family ties and residents were likely to have lived in the neighborhood since 1989 or earlier (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

By 1909 Lakeview, bounded by Robert E. Lee, Orleans Ave., Pontchartrain Blvd., and I-610, was drained and the New Orleans Swamp Land Reclamation Company had begun development and advertising. While Lakeview remained relatively rural until the 1920s, groups of homes were constructed and churches and schools began to emerge in the early 20th century. Separation between Lakeview's economic corridors (Harrison Avenue and Robert E. Lee) and residential areas reflected the suburban-style development approach of the neighborhood's early development (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Map of Lakeview



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

Image 2: Lakeview Streetscape

Source: www.myneworleans.com

Continued city-led investment in transportation infrastructure and municipal services in Lakeview in the 1950s helped spur population growth in the area and promote connectivity to the city and to

the emerging suburbs in Jefferson Parish. Between 1940 and 1950, Lakeview population grew by 104% and between 1950 and 1960 it grew by another 50% (Table 1). Since its development, Lakeview has remained a predominantly white, middle-upper class neighborhood, with the percentage of whites in the neighborhood consistently higher than 95% and often closer to 100% (Table 1). The majority of the pre-Katrina housing stock in Lakeview was built in 1950 or earlier (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Not surprisingly, the patterns of redlining and other forms racial discrimination present in many US cities at the time shaped the racial dynamics in Lakeview. For instance, the New Orleans Swamp Land Reclamation Company's Lakeview development strictly prohibited blacks or non-whites from purchasing homes in Lakeview:

> *No person not of the Caucasian race shall be permitted to reside or congregate in any structure erected on said property, or any part thereof. This restriction shall not apply to domestic servants living on their master's premises* (Colten, 2002).

A snapshot of the neighborhood in 2000 shows that Lakeview residents mirrored the city and the two other neighborhoods in terms of gender, but that Lakeview residents tended to be slightly older (75 years and older) than city residents or residents in the other two neighborhoods in this study (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Lakeview residents also were less likely to have children under the age of 18 than in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward (73.7%) and, if children were present, they were less likely to rely on Grandparents for childcare (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

In terms of income, employment, and education, Lakeview's average household income in 2000 was $63,984, compared with the city's average household income of $43,176 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Although Lakeview is not nearly as affluent as some of its northern neighbors such as Lake Vista and Lake Shore, the distribution of household incomes is more evenly distributed than in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward and nearly half of household incomes are above $60,000 per year. While the poverty rates were lower in Lakeview (4.9%) than in the Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward, female headed households account for 38.9% of the households living in poverty. Lakeview's employment rate in 2000 was above that of the city (64.4%) and most employed residents worked in the professional, scientific, or technical field, education, health care, or retail trade. Finally, nearly 50% of Lakeview residents had a bachelor's degree or higher. New Orleans intense racial segregation is evidenced in part in its public schools and in Lakeview, despite strong connections to the local public school, 65.8% of children in preschool – 12th grade were enrolled in private school.

New data suggest that Lakeview has seen some demographic changes, but that these changes have not affected the neighborhood's racial demographics as much as Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward (Table 4 and Appendix B). For instance, although there has been over 200% growth in the neighborhood's black population, in real numbers this means that there has been an increase of just fewer than 150 black residents.[15] Still, Lakeview has lost population since 2000 (over 3,000 residents total) and has lost over 1,300 residents over the age of 65 (Table 4).[16] It should be noted that while Lakeview's total population loss should be mostly attributed to the effects of Katrina on the neighborhood, its population loss (35%) is less than that of Treme (53%) since 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010). Yet as in Treme, in Lakeview there has been a loss of total occupied housing units (nearly 1,900 since 2000) and an increase in vacant units (nearly 500 additional vacant units since 2000). Again since Lakeview was one of the worst neighborhoods in terms of physical devastation, these numbers should come as no surprise (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010).

Table 4: Lakeview Demographics (Population and Race), 2000 - 2010

Total Numbers	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Population	9,875	6,394	-35.3%	-3,481
Total households	4,524	2,672	-40.9%	-1,852
Family households	2,657	1,566	-41.1%	-1,091
Racial & ethnic diversity	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Black or African American	0.7%	3.4%	213.9%	148
White	94.0%	88.2%	-39.3%	-3,646
Asian	0.7%	1.3%	15.7%	11
American Indian	0.1%	0.2%	21.5%	2
Other	0.1%	0.2%	11.4%	1
2 race categories	0.7%	0.8%	-21.9%	-15
Hispanic (any race)	3.7%	6.0%	4.8%	18
Source: U. S. Census				

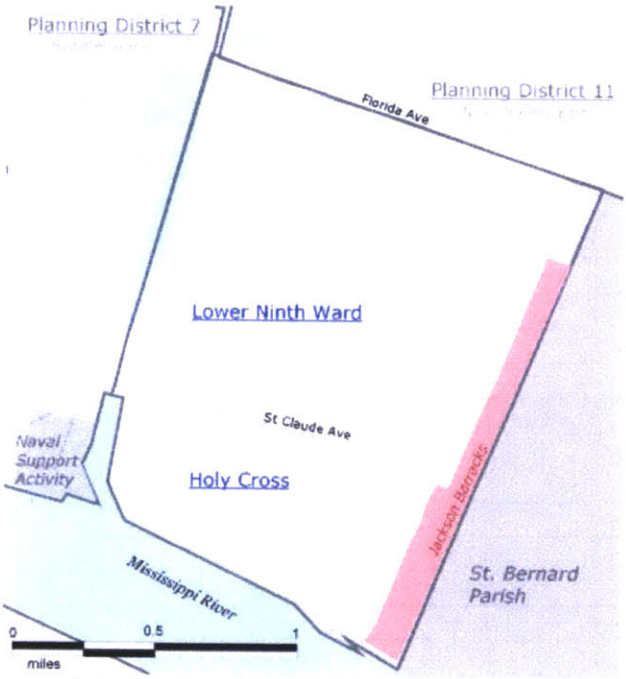
[15] Although not presented at this time as a full part of the analysis, an interview with one new black resident in Lakeview noted that she chose to live in this neighborhood simply because this neighborhood was located within an easy route to work.

[16] Note: Full comparisons of 2000 and 2010 Census data are located in the appendices of this dissertation. For the sake of clarity, some of this comparison is presented in this chapter in Tables 3-5.

Lower Ninth Ward

Settled originally for sugar and indigo plantations on the natural Mississippi levee in the 1700s and early 1800s, most of the current Lower Ninth Ward was drained for residential development in the mid-20th century. Free African-Americans and immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and Italy began to move to the neighborhood in the late 1800s, drawn to the cheap and available land located along the river. However while whites occupied the better-drained higher ground along the river, Blacks and immigrants located away from the river in the lower lying and swampier areas of the neighborhood (Colten, 2005; Wiltse, 2010).

Figure 6: Map of the Lower Ninth Ward



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

Image 3: Lower Ninth Ward, New Green Construction

Source: Photo by the author

The Lower Ninth Ward, located east of the Industrial Canal and along the St. Bernard Parish border, is made up of two neighborhoods: Holy Cross and the Lower Ninth Ward. While internally there have historically been racial divisions since its development as a neighborhood, the greater Lower

Ninth Ward is also often cast as one neighborhood due to its relative isolation from the city itself and its history of municipal neglect. The Lower Ninth Ward is nearly surrounded by water with the Mississippi River to its south, the Industrial Canal to the west, and Bayou Bienvenue to the north. The neighborhood is differentiated topographically by naturally higher ground located along the Mississippi and lower ground near what was once a cypress and tupelo swamp toward the neighborhood's northern border. While the Lower Ninth Ward eventually benefitted in its development from the invention of the Wood pump and city legislation to extend drainage and pumping systems, it has historically been last to benefit from the City's technological and infrastructure investments and only half of the Lower Ninth Ward had been developed by the middle of the 20th century (GNOCDC, 2000; Lewis, 2003).

Major infrastructure developments that affected the continued settlement and relative isolation of the Lower Ninth Ward include the Mississippi River levee, which was constructed in 1912 to prevent erosion and flooding, and the Industrial Canal, which was constructed in 1923 to provide a navigation channel between Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain. While the levee provided a broad swath of green space, the Industrial Canal became a physical barrier further isolating the neighborhood from the city. However, these infrastructure investments conceal a longer and continued history of neglect in terms of municipal services and infrastructure modernization (Landphair, 1999).

For instance, public school investments were one of the ways that the city differentiated between white and black neighborhoods. City and school board financial investments in white neighborhoods and white schools were not equally reflected in financial investments in black neighborhoods and black schools, such as those in the Lower Ninth War. By the 1940s, the two black elementary schools operating in the Lower Ninth Ward were marked by overcrowding and abysmal conditions (Landphair, 1999).

However, population increases in the 9th ward continued as Blacks continued to move to the area for its cheap and available land that was not redlined and to the availability of work on the docks of the Mississippi and nearby slaughterhouses (Table 1) (Wiltse, 2010, pp. 11-16). The history of the Lower Ninth Ward is tied to agriculture with its sugar and indigo plantations, but the combination of larger lots and lower income families gave rise to small local farming efforts and many families had gardens and raised livestock to feed themselves and to sell to the open food markets and local

restaurants (GNOCDC, 2000; Wiltse, 2010, p. 15). Additionally, local truck farmers sold local produce throughout the neighborhood and residents hunted and fished in Bayou Bienvenue (GNOCDC, 2000). Together, these farming activities were a source of employment and sustenance for local families.

Similar to Treme and Lakeview, the Lower Ninth Ward was born of racial difference and discrimination. The racial demographics of a racially mixed but predominantly African-American Lower 9 began to emerge in the mid-20th century (Table 1). By the 1960s, commercial activity along St. Claude Avenue as well as scattered commercial development, including corner stores and restaurants, throughout the residential areas became more pronounced. The Lower Nine's development patterns reflect its development as a neighborhood over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Early development toward the river in Holy Cross is more typical of New Orleans' historical development patterns and was set by the late 1800s.[17] This area of the neighborhood is dominated by raised shotgun homes on narrow, deep lots with shallow setbacks and a mix of residential and commercial. However, as the neighborhood grew away from the river, larger residential lots with on-grade homes built with deeper setbacks and less mix of residential and commercial became the dominant development land use pattern (although the Lower Nine maintained more land use diversity within the neighborhood fabric than Lakeview).

As much as the Lower Ninth Ward's development was shaped by neglect and racial discrimination, much like Treme, it was also shaped by its long history of social and political activism. Its residents fought for all that was "won" in terms of city investments in infrastructure and development. As in Treme, the Lower Ninth Ward's history of organizing emerged in the late 19th century with the start of local benevolent associations and mutual-aid societies that were established to help newly freed slaves find housing and work (Landphair, 1999; Wiltse, 2010). By the mid 20th century, a robust level of political and civic activism had emerged to fight for civil rights and basic municipal services. The Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League, established in 1945 at the height of Jim Crow segregation, waged public information and voter registration campaigns as did local churches against local poll taxes and 'subjective voter registration' practices that prohibited Blacks from voting and in the face of violence that threatened organizing Blacks during this period (Landphair, 1999; Wiltse, 2010, p. 18). As Landphair (1999) notes, Lower Ninth Ward activists and residents faced not only the threat of violence and discriminatory practices, but also a history of neglect.

[17] Holy Cross was listed on the National Register in 1986 and designated as a local historical district in 1990.

"Second-class citizens by virtue of race, they carried the added burden of their residence in the Lower Ninth Ward, which rendered them meaningless in the eyes of city officials" (Landphair, 1999). The Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League linked its early organizing efforts to the "dearth of public services, the unsanitary living conditions, the overcrowded schools, and the lack of police protection" (Wiltse, 2010, p. 18) and became increasingly active in public school desegregation efforts (Landphair, 1999). Thus, the political activism in the Lower Ninth Ward has always connected to an interdependent politics of place and race.

A snapshot of the Lower Ninth Ward neighborhood in 2000 and 2010 shows a predominantly black community of nearly 20,000 residents, with a higher percentage of whites living in the Holy Cross neighborhood toward the river.[18] The Lower Nine was known for its high rates of homeownership (nearly 60% in the Lower Ninth Ward in 2000 and just over 40% in Holy Cross in 2000) and 2010 census numbers indicate that of the remaining 2,101 occupied homes in the larger neighborhood, 61% are owner-occupied in the entire Lower Ninth Ward (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, 2010).

Table 5: Lower Ninth Ward (Population and Race), 2000-2010

Total numbers	Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000	Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Population	19,515	5,556	-71.5%	-13,959
Total households	6,802	2,101	-69.1%	-4,701
Family households	4,782	1,325	-72.3%	-3,457
Racial & ethnic diversity	**Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000**	**Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Black or African American	95.3%	92.4%	-72.4%	-13,452
White	3.0%	4.3%	-59.5%	-350
Asian	0.1%	0.1%	-36.4%	-4
American Indian	0.1%	0.3%	-38.3%	-11
Other	0.1%	0.1%	-59.0%	-12
2 race categories	0.7%	0.9%	-62.6%	-84
Hispanic (any race)	0.8%	1.8%	-32.0%	-47
Source: U.S. Census				

New census data indicate that the Lower Ninth Ward remains one of the neighborhoods most devastated by Katrina in terms of population loss, with just over 70% of its population still

[18] Note: Full comparisons of 2000 and 2010 Census data are located in the appendices of this dissertation. For the sake of clarity, some of this comparison is presented in this chapter in Tables 3-5.

displaced (Table 5 and Appendix C). Not surprisingly, its African-American population accounts for the majority of this population loss. Within the total population loss, there has also been a significant loss of elderly residents since 2000. The Lower Nine's housing stock has also been reduced from just under 8,000 total units in 2000 to fewer than 4,000 units in 2010 (44.8% of which remain vacant).

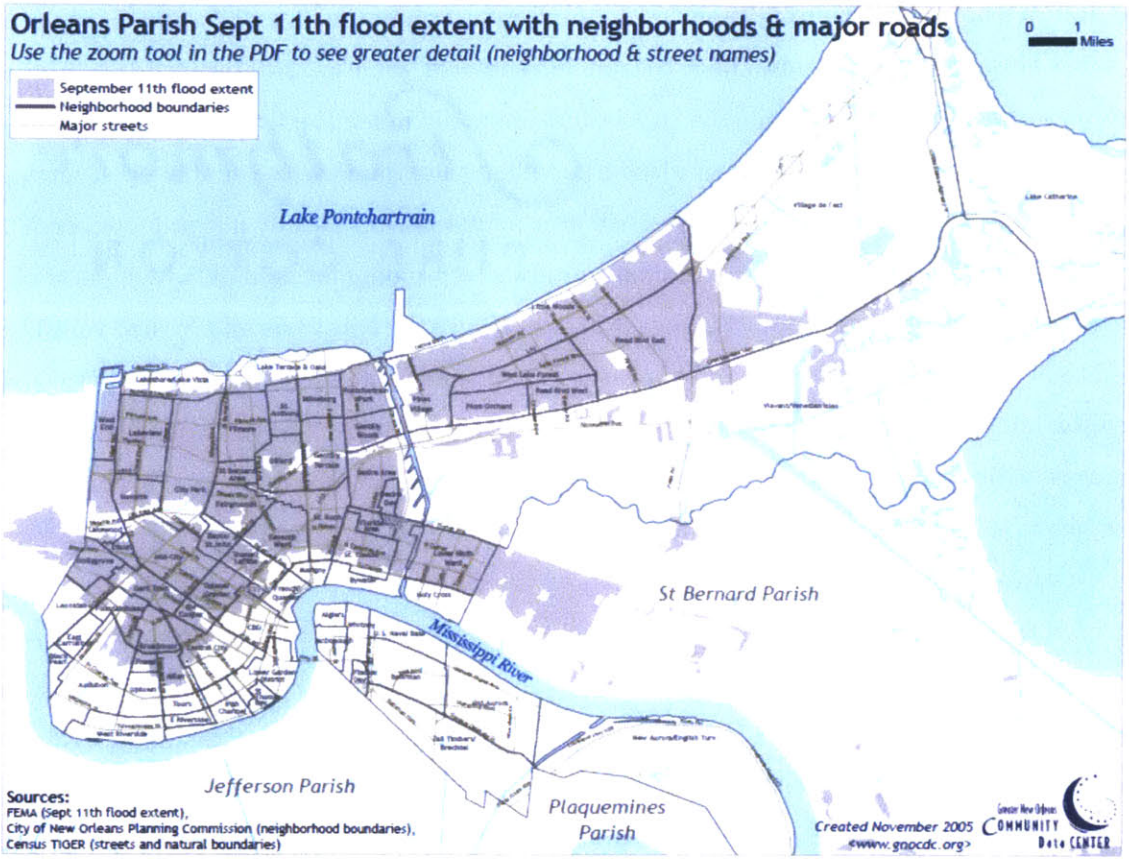
Post-Katrina Planning and Demographic Shifts

Although this dissertation is not about Katrina, the continued repercussions of Katrina do have an effect on the empirical work presented in Chapters 5-7. 2010 Census data indicate that the three neighborhoods are recovering quite differently from the changes presented to them by the flooding and physical destruction (such as in the Lower Ninth Ward and Lakeview) and by the economic, development and demographic shifts that ensue from the city being 80% flooded (Figure 7). Of the three neighborhoods, Lakeview and the Lower Ninth Ward were the most damaged physically, having both been flooded by levee or flood wall breaks that directly affected these neighborhoods. Treme however, has been affected by continued gentrification into the neighborhood and by major planning and development proposals/projects that are shifting attention to development on higher ground and to economic development projects for the city as a whole (see Chapter 5) (HANO, 2011; Krupa, 2011; Nagel, 2006).

However despite the democracy of flooding, New Orleans residents were not equally prepared to handle the repercussions of Hurricane Katrina. Leading up to the storm, evacuation measures were hindered by different economic realities that fell along racial lines. Not only were blacks less likely to own a vehicle,[19] but also different economic realities in neighborhoods like the Lower Ninth Ward prohibited evacuation for many blacks. For instance, the lack of disposable income to rent a hotel room for an indefinite number of nights during evacuation affected the city's poor and minority groups more severely than wealthier whites.

[19] While in Treme 55.6% of residents did not have access to a vehicle and in the Lower Ninth Ward 33.5% of residents did not have access to a vehicle, in Lakeview this number was only 8.5% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Figure 7: Extent of Flooding, Orleans Parish, September 11, 2005



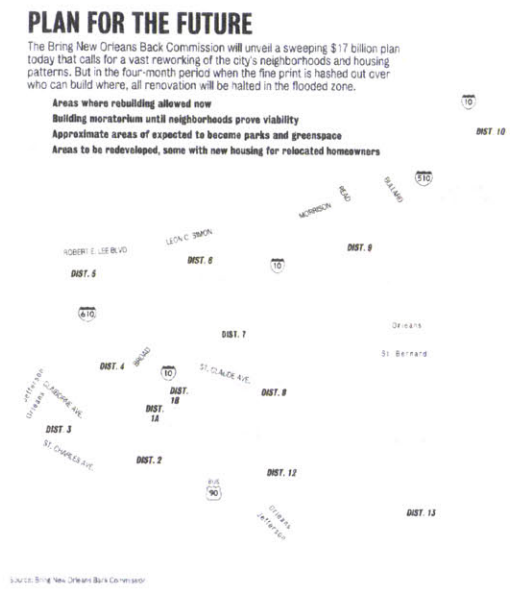
Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

Aside from the obvious news coverage documenting how a neighborhood like the Lower Ninth Ward represented the face of American poverty and the forgotten black communities in U.S. cities, the demographic statistics discussed earlier in this chapter were some of the real data available to planners working in the wake of Katrina. Despite this information about how blacks were less likely to have access to personal transportation or the financial means to evacuate, despite demographic information readily available about racialized differences in terms of education, employment and poverty (Tables 7-9), despite the reality of racialized geographies that in New Orleans are linked to historical patterns of segregation, disinvestment, governmental neglect, and discrimination – patterns which are not unique to New Orleans as an American city, planners responded initially to the environmental and governmental disaster that was Katrina by 1) relying on free market forces, 2) assuming that residents could rationally respond to calls by planners to move to higher ground, and 3) privileging nationally dominant narratives that ignore how racial inequality is still a structural realities in the U.S..

While the first two of these responses –and residents' responses have been well documented in scholarly work (Brand, 2007a; Fields, 2009; Nelson, Ehrenfeucht, & Laska, 2007; Wagner & Frisch, 2009), it is important to note that while the city and planners did indeed lack a racially just framework for post-Katrina planning, their discourse reified a dominant white spatial epistemology in which space and development are conceived of a non-relational and racially neutral (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000). While many early discussions about rebuilding focused on which parts of the city were *viable* for reconstruction (Wagner & Frisch, 2009), the emphasis on *physical* viability discredited social and cultural viability and to a large extent, ignored the larger environmental and political context of wetland loss and environmental vulnerability (Fields, 2009). However, despite the appearance of being rational, early redevelopment plans –including the infamous "green dot" plan which proposed that certain areas of the city be returned to green space (Figure 8), were highly geared toward a redevelopment strategy that elevated economic privilege and traditionally white spaces of the city while devaluing traditionally black spaces of the city. A simple comparison of the green dot map (Figure 7) with a topographic map of the city (Figure 8) and the maps of racial concentrations in the city (Figures 1 & 2), shows that planners did not propose that all low-lying areas be returned to green space.[20] If this were the case, Lakeview – which is lower-lying than the Lower Ninth ward, would have received a green dot. Interestingly, this discourse also ignored racial justice unless it was evoked by local planners or architects to convey their sense of being ignored by the federal government (Kroloff, 2006).

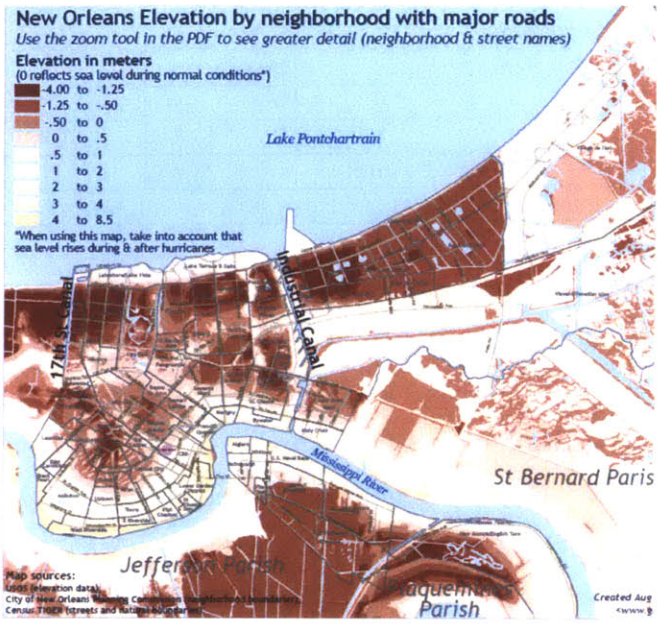
[20] It should be said that in many of the early redevelopment conversations, local planners did not dominate the discussion and instead, many local architects and developers took the lead in shaping this conversation. While local and national planners eventually became more involved in this discussion and the planning efforts, early proposals were shaped by a very different pedagogical approach to urban development. A fuller analysis was out of the scope of this dissertation.

Figure 8: Proposed Redevelopment Plan, Orleans Parish



Source: The Times-Picayune

Figure 9: New Orleans Elevation by Neighborhood



Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

While this aspect of post-Katrina planning has been less thoroughly analyzed or criticized by planners and scholars and while, as planning and rebuilding progressed less emphasis was placed on physical viability and more on "equitable" rebuilding (Brand, 2007a), there was a persistent lack of city and federal focus on race and the ramifications of the racial inequalities that residents faced in rebuilding. For instance, early redevelopment funding mechanisms reinforced this individualized and non-relational view, particularly the initial funding schemes in the Road Home program in which homes in Lakeview averaged nearly twice the compensation per home compared with homes in the Lower Ninth Ward (Table 6). The Road Home program was the federal program designed to compensate homeowners for their losses due to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita.

Table 6: Initial Road Home Funding, Orleans Parish					
New Orleans Neighborhood	**# Keeping Home**	**% Keeping Home**	**Compensation Grant Households**	**Compensation Grant Amount Disbursed**	**Average Compensation Grant per Household**
Treme	395	96%	392	$23,485,317	$59,911.52
Lakeview	1,667	84%	1,958	$209,696,986	$107,098
Lower Ninth Ward - Total	2,041	70%	2,716	$152,929,107	$56,307
Source: The Road Home, https://www.road2la.org/					

Since 2005, the city itself has undertaken a number of major planning processes, including the Bring New Orleans Back Commission (BNOBC) (2005-2006), the Lambert Plan (2006), the Unified New Orleans Plan (UNOP) (2006-2007), and the New Orleans Master Plan (2008-2010) and is currently updating its Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance (2010-2012). In addition to these city-led plans, many of the local neighborhoods (including Lakeview and the Lower Ninth Ward) have created their own neighborhood master plans. Despite the sheer number of planning processes and as discussed in Chapters 5-7, the framework for these planning processes has never forefronted racial justice from a place-based framework as one of the critical issues faced by planners in New Orleans. This issue, as well planning's role in shifting the racial geographies of post-Katrina New Orleans, are discussed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4
Research Questions, Design, and Methodology

Introduction

This dissertation focuses on the connections between race and space and explores the duality of black spaces in the city in contrast to white spaces and dominant development ideologies. I ask broadly, how space is used to empower different identity groups in the city and I explore the conditions and practices under which different groups build a safe and powerful place for themselves, where their identities and communities are protected, supported, and empowered. To do so I consider the processes, justifications, emplacement, and daily practices of blacks' and whites' socio-spatial epistemologies.

These broader concerns for how different groups collectively work to demand a space in the city and how they defend their neighborhoods from perceived and actual development, diversity, and environmental threats informs a more specific research focus and the operationalization of the neighborhood as a place of domination/oppression and refuge/empowerment. This conceptual and analytical framework forefronts and elevates racial experiences in the city. The emergence of specific research questions occurred during the review of the literature and during the first phase of fieldwork. As this dissertation takes an ethnographic approach, this process was an iterative one, where the refinement and specificity of the research questions reflects a grounded and inductive approach from themes that emerged during fieldwork. The second and third phases of fieldwork tested and further refined these concepts.

As noted in Chapter Two, this dissertation focuses on the experiences of race in the city and explores the interactions between race and space. The neighborhood is understood as a place of refuge for non-dominant groups and is therefore explored as a relational concept, one in which there is a relationship between the larger social, political, economic, and environmental context and history. The following chapter discusses the research questions, the research design and sampling, and the methodology used to conduct fieldwork, as well as data analysis methods and issues of validity, generalizability, and reliability. Finally, I reflect on the limitations of this research and the process of conducting fieldwork and how issues of my own identity affect this research.

Research Questions

In Chapter 2, I argued that scholars in the field of black geography help us understand the duality of urban space for blacks and how we should think critically about space as being both the site of domination and liberation. This view of space is specifically political and therefore I question how the state legitimizes certain worldviews and experiences and therefore contributes to perpetuating and emplacing inequality. I explore how place provides tangible physical, psychological, and political benefits to the African American community and how majority black spaces protect them from harm and erasure. My dissertation explores this concept of places of refuge in the urban context of post-Katrina New Orleans. The specific research questions are:

1. How does race shape urban experience? What are blacks and whites' spatial epistemologies and are they qualitatively different?
    - How do blacks and whites use space? What are the benefits that space provides each racial group?
    - What are the impacts of class on the racial experience in the city? How do race and class interact in these groups' narratives about how the spaces of the city should get built?
    - What do blacks and whites say about their experiences of race in the city? What are their visions for urban development and change? What space are they trying to create – and what are the repercussions for racial equality in their visions?
    - Can blacks "see America in a way that white Americans cannot" (Du Bois, 1926)? If so, what do their visions offer to the theoretical foundation and practice of urban planning?

2. What is the spatial epistemology of the practice of urban planning?
    - As an arm of the state, what types of (re)development does planning promote? What types of spatial aspirations and visions does it undermine?
    - Given planning's emphasis on democratic inclusion and deliberation, can we say that blacks' worldviews are represented? Is representation enough? What are the outcomes of this representation?
    - Given planning's development epistemology, what are the historical and potential future repercussions for black spaces in the city?
    - Are there other options for promoting and building a more equitable city?

The first set of questions relates to both the processes and dimensions of spatial epistemologies and their contextual relationship with 1) the larger socio-political and economic context and history and 2) with the perception of threats and with real changes in the community over time. This set of questions specifically relates to the physicality and boundedness of urban neighborhoods and explores how residents interpret and envision the places of their communities, as well as the spatial practices they use to claim these places. This relational concept is inherent to my conceptualization of space, thus allowing the research and questions to lead not only to an understanding of the more descriptive elements of the benefits that space provides, but to the explanatory elements of these experiences and visions for change. This framework also allows for an analysis of the

interdependencies and relationships between these different spatial epistemologies and considers how they interact and inform one another.

The second set of questions relates more specifically to the practice of planning and its effects on spatial development for different racial groups in the city. My questions regarding the specificity of place and its racial genealogy emerged from the initial phases of the fieldwork and this second set of questions reflect on these themes and the conditions under which space is constructed and redeveloped by planners and local politicians. I explore how planners and local politicians have influenced and been influenced by these different spatial epistemologies and question whether or not the practice of planning fundamentally undermines blacks' spatial claims and aspirations. This is of course a normative question in many respects, but one I feel that the research data warrants.

As noted in the previous chapter, this research is sited in post-Katrina New Orleans and focuses on 3 racialized neighborhoods. The post-Katrina condition is understood as a moment in which the city is reconstituted; however, while this condition is emphasized in the research, I argue that the historical conditions continue to affect these epistemological differences.

Research Design, Unit of Analysis, and Sampling

In this research, places of refuge are seen as the dependent variable influenced by contextual urban historical, environmental, political, and spatial development, racial experiences, and unequal power dynamics and relationships. These questions are qualitative in nature and my interest is in the qualitative differences and similarities between racial different groups in their construction and perceptions of their own security in the city. As noted in Chapter 2, although there is ample literature on how the city gets shaped by fear, this dissertation explores urban redevelopment in an expansive sense, including its spatial, psychological, and political dimensions of space, and considers how psychological and political security are geographically and racially rooted. Further, while the literature on place-attachment and place-identity places less-emphasis on the macro economic and social contexts and histories, I theorize here that different groups actively act on space in order to shape the city toward specific ends. While the literature in planning fails to consider the complex ways in which different racial groups form and protect their relationship to a specific place in the city, my aim is to elevate and explore how blacks and whites do this work and what they say about it. The focus on race and the similarities and differences between blacks' and whites' socio-spatial identities and spatial epistemologies came to the forefront over the course of

this dissertation research, analysis, and writing and although the connections between race and geography are emphasized in literature on black geographies, this literature is all but absent in planning. As noted below, these issues and emphases (or codes) emerged from the data themselves and therefore represent a grounded research design.

In order to understand these dynamics and to articulate blacks and whites' spatial epistemologies, this research takes an engaged ethnographic and grounded theory approach. This engaged ethnographic approach "applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the 'micro' to the 'macro,' and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5).

Ethnographic research records life as it is experienced by a particular group (Charmaz, 2006, p. 21) and offers subjective and personal accounts of daily life and experience of a particular set of circumstances and histories (Denzin, 1997). Though ethnographic accounts have been criticized for offering no relevant theory beyond the immediate circumstances, the settings of "co-presence" (Goffman, 1983) enable the researcher to construct theoretical claims through inductive methods (Burawoy, 1991). To develop theory from rich ethnographic data, a grounded theoretical approach is used. As noted by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Charmaz (2006), grounded theory should meet the following criteria: "a close fit with the data, usefulness, conceptual density, durability over time, modifiability, and explanatory power" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6). Grounded theory "explains the studied process in new theoretical terms, explicates the properties of the theoretical categories, and often demonstrates the causes and conditions under which the process emerges and varies, and delineates its consequences" (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 6-7).

As grounded theory aims to unearth the constraints and opportunities that residents encounter and to explore "taken-for-granted assumptions and rules" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 21), it can give form and meaning to how different groups in the city perceive of their own power and how they act over time and in space within the social, economic, and environmental constructs that structure their everyday lives. Finally, as ethnographic work is "grounded in a particular ontology...and is based on an epistemology which says that culture can be known through cultural and social settings" (Mason, 2002, p. 55) it is a good fit for this set of research questions.

In practice, I have used an engaged, grounded, and non-linear research approach in which I have, at each stage of the research, simultaneously collected data and conducted data analysis; constructed and compared analytic categories from and across the data and research settings; and constructed and refined theory from the data (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 5-6; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Although general concepts and questions were laid out prior to the initial fieldwork, it was through an extensive first phase of fieldwork (August 2009 – April 2010) that I developed and formalized the concepts and research questions. During this time, I conducted interviews and participant observations as my methodological techniques for gathering rich data on the experiences and contexts of the residents in these neighborhoods. In June 2010, a first draft of the dissertation proposal, including the research questions, was presented to my dissertation committee. I conducted a second phase of data gathering and analysis between June 2010 and October 2010. During this phase of extensive participant observations and unstructured interviews the theoretical and analytical framework discussed in Chapter 2 emerged from the data and analysis. This theoretical and analytical framework was defined at the time by the dimensions (spatial, psychological, political), the processes (constructing, representing, and protecting), and the relational aspects of security in the city. I presented this framework to my dissertation committee in December 2010.

The final phase of data collection and analysis took place between October 2010 and October 2012. During this final phase, I tested, refined, and expanded the conceptual framework and categories, through focused data gathering, including in-depth, unstructured interviews, participant observations, neighborhood tours, cognitive mapping, and textual analysis. A final historical analysis was also conducted during this last phase of data gathering and analysis. Both thick description and qualitative content analysis of historical documents were used to compliment the information gathered during interviews (15 transcribed, plus over 45 additional informal interviews), cognitive mapping (minimum – see below), and participant observations (between 75-100 hours in each neighborhood) to develop the descriptions of the research settings presented in Chapter 3. My final revisions were made after my dissertation defense in February 2012.

Over the course of all phases of my field work, I took ethnographic notes in field notebooks (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). These notes were often taken both during and after observations were made and both during and after informal conversations with residents and activists took place.

Additionally, I used ethnographic note taking while conducting recorded interviews. All of these field notes were used as data for this dissertation and were analyzed and coded.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this dissertation is the neighborhood. Numerous urban ethnographic and sociological studies have examined this unit of analysis (Abu-Lughod, 1994b; Duneier, 1992; Gans, 1982; Gregory, 1998; Small, 2004; Stack, 1974). Urban ethnographies and in particular, neighborhood studies, which vary in their examination of the socio-spatial realities of urban residents' social networks and class interactions, allow us to examine the ways in which people make sense of their immediate lives within the context of broader social, political, and economic forces. As a multi-local ethnographic account of three communities in post-Katrina New Orleans, this research is using a comparative framework to understand the dynamics and meanings of racialized identities and place. Multi-sited ethnographies allow research to crosscut similar issues and questions across different contexts and realities (Hannerz, 2003; G. E. Marcus, 1995). Although the site in the case of this research is New Orleans, which allows me to hold the city and its socio-economic, political and environmental history constant, I vary race, class, and spatial development/history across three neighborhoods in the city. As discussed in Chapter 3, these three neighborhoods were chosen because they represent the varied and distinct racial context of New Orleans with Treme being historically the home to Black Creoles and Free People of Color, Lakeview to middle-upper class whites, and the Lower Ninth Ward to blacks of predominantly poor and working class backgrounds. Lakeview and the Lower Ninth Ward, though distinct racially and economically, are similar in their geographic location and level of flooding during Hurricane Katrina. All three neighborhoods are facing tremendous social and physical changes.

As Abu-Lughod (1994a) notes, neighborhood studies are essential to understanding "the interactive effects of the micro and macro forces that now determine the fate of our cities and their constitutive subareas" (p. 5). While neighborhoods no longer organize every aspect of daily life, they do organize the home and social life, particularly in New Orleans, a city of over 70 defined neighborhoods (Figure 3). In all three neighborhoods, the articulation of a neighborhood identity is particularly strong. This neighborhood essentialism has been reinforced by post-Katrina planning efforts, which, through a neighborhood-based approach to post-Katrina planning, charged residents with proving that their neighborhoods viable for recovery and redevelopment (Brand, 2007a; Donze & Gordon, 2006). My previous research in New Orleans and the first phase of this dissertation's field work have shown that in New Orleans the neighborhood is the scale at which

residents articulate their visions of what and where urban development projects should be implemented, as well as who should implement them and who should live where (Brand, 2007a). While New Orleans is not unique in identifying itself as a city of neighborhoods, it is commonplace that when asking or asked by a resident where you are from, the question signifies the neighborhood. These significations are taken to mean that the neighborhood and its boundaries are critical to understanding the creation of places of refuge in post-Katrina New Orleans. However, this research also shows that within neighborhoods there are specific places (be they bars, community spaces, restaurants, green spaces, homes, etc.) that gain more salience and specificity as places of refuge.

Sampling

The intent of sampling is to eliminate biases from your research, to ensure that you gather data from relevant sources, and to ensure that you develop an "empirically and theoretically grounded argument" (Mason, 2002, p. 121). However, although sampling should be strategic, rigorous, and systematic, qualitative research requires an alternative logic of sampling than that of quantitative research (Mason, 2002, p. 120). Sampling in qualitative research should ensure that there is an explicit connection between the argument, sampling strategy, data analysis, and grounded theoretical contributions (Mason, 2002, p. 125). Additionally, the main intention of sampling in grounded theory is to help the researcher build theory (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 5-6).

Sampling in grounded theory follows a similarly phased and reflective approach as discussed above in the research design. As this research progressed in three distinct phases of data gathering and analysis, so did the sampling methods progress. In the first phase, I focused on a snowball sampling approach to gain entry into the community and immerse myself in the contexts and communities that I was studying. During the second phase of research I used a random sampling approach, seeking both a diverse population in each community as well diverse sites for participant observations and interviews. I sought a diverse sample of residents, chosen according to race/ethnicity and length of residence/work in the neighborhood. Length of residence and race are appropriate variables for this research as I am focused on the connection between identity and place-attachment and the sense of spatial, psychological, and political security that emerges (or not) in these contexts. Further, although race is not a totalizing or undifferentiated identity, it "encapsulates a uniform and meaningful category of experience" (Mason, 2002, p. 128) The diversity of the sample of people at this phase was biased toward older and long-time residents,

although as opposed to the first phase of research, it was not biased toward neighborhood organizers and leaders.

The third and final phase of fieldwork was guided by both continued random sampling at various community sites, as well as by theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is a more purposive form of sampling developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) by which the researcher strategically selects groups that relate to their theoretical and analytical framework (Mason, 2002, pp. 124-125). The theoretical sampling conducted during the third phase of my field work allowed me to correct any biases inherent in the field work and to gather more specific data during interviews, participant observations, cognitive mapping, and neighborhood tours that related more specifically to the analytical categories and theoretical concepts that had emerged from the previous two phases of research. This sampling approach essentially ensures that your analytic categories and theoretical concepts are tested in the field until no new properties or explanations emerge (Charmaz, 2006, p. 96; Mason, 2002, p. 124). The third phase sampling approach was used to move beyond characteristics such as race and class, and to consider more ontological perspectives and properties of the people who live and work for these places and toward producing their community's security. Therefore, in addition to the random sampling that I conducted mainly through participant observation and interviewing, I purposefully sampled during this third phase based on the analytical categories that had emerged in the previous two phases of fieldwork.

During both the second and the third phase of fieldwork I also collected and analyzed historical and contemporary texts that were illustrative of this notion of security and place. These texts included photographs, videos, historical archives, and documents produced by the communities in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. With contemporary texts, I am interested not only in what the text conveys about constructing, projecting, and maintaining the black neighborhood as a place of refuge in the city, but also in who produces them and their intended audience.

To understand the spatial dynamics present within this research, I conducted participant observations, visual analysis, and short informal interviews at a variety of public and private sites and settings within each community (between 75-100 hours in each community). These sites and events included churches, bars, community centers, community events, neighborhood meetings, and cultural centers. The inclusion of meetings and events within each setting is taken here as illustrative of the context of post-Katrina New Orleans, in which numerous community and

organizational meetings are held in order to reconstruct, protect, and secure the community's literal (geographical), psychological, and political place in the city. However, both the idea of environmental sampling and event sampling are critical to my research questions as these are the places in which community is actively produced. Again, the sample of both events and settings are meant not to be representative of the whole community nor to essentialize experience and meaning, but rather to illustrate how different groups in the city seek, produce, and protect their safe places in the city. This assumption is based on an ontological perspective that although macro economic and political forces shape space, society, and experience, these contexts do not dominate one's own experiences. Rather, these ideas are reinterpreted, reconstituted, and/or challenged in various settings in the city.

The intent through each phase of field work and sampling was to provide a diverse sample of residents that represent 1) the complex nature of the issues and questions explored in this dissertation and 2) a representative sample of the communities that I studied. However, due to the effects of Katrina and the continued displacement of residents, particularly in the Lower Ninth Ward, there are a number of inherent biases in this research sample. For instance, residents may be displaced from living in a neighborhood, but still attend church in their neighborhood. Similarly, there are a number of organizations and people who work in these communities to help residents. However, these respondents might not actually live in the neighborhood in whose name they are working. This was particularly true in both the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme. Both scenarios present a particular set of circumstances unique to the time and nature of this research. Both my random and theoretical sampling approaches were intended to help overcome these biases. One final bias, those who have not returned to live in the city, is out of the scope of this dissertation.

In order to ensure that the interview sample was sufficiently varied, a chart was maintained over the course of the research tracking the variables of each interview respondent (Manzo, 2005). It was this chart that allowed me to define emergent biases in the sampling and therefore make corrections during each phase of research. By using multiple forms of networking and both a random and theoretical sampling approach, over the course of the three phases of fieldwork I have conducted participant observations and interviews at a diverse host of sites and with a diverse group of residents. Within each community, I interviewed both residents and organizational leaders and I made observations and extensive field notes at a wide variety of places and events. However, it should be noted that there is a general bias toward respondents over the age of 30.

Sampling, particularly in this dissertation research, needs to consider how the time and space influence and intersect with the questions being explored (Mason, 2002). While the initial fieldwork was bounded by time post-Katrina (since 2005), it became apparent during this and the second phase of fieldwork that historical perceptions were present in the ways in which residents understood and valued their neighborhood. Therefore, it became necessary to conduct not only some level of historical analysis regarding the racial and physical development of each community, but also to ask more specific questions to respondents regarding their own personal and community histories and to conduct genealogical mapping during interviews. As it affects the data and respondents' representations of their community, this analysis is presented in Chapters 5-7. Although the constriction of time to post-Katrina became increasingly limited as a temporal constraint, I did not predetermine a temporal framework to limit respondents' responses at any time in the fieldwork after which this issue became apparent. Instead I allowed residents to reach back in time as far as they felt necessary to explain their sense of security in the city, the meaning of their neighborhood, and their racial experiences. As for space, the fieldwork was conducted within the given boundaries of each neighborhood. This spatial framework was used, as noted above, because this spatial definition is particularly salient given the urban context in which this research is sited. The more specific boundaries and locations of important places in each neighborhood were discussed and elaborated during the interviews and as it relates to the issues explored this spatial analysis is presented in Chapters 5-7. At all stages of the fieldwork and throughout all participant observations and visual analysis, I did make note of the time and space of the setting in which I was conducting fieldwork.

Finally, as the intention of my dissertation is to build the conceptual framework of blacks' spatial epistemologies, the notion of sampling a predetermined number of respondents and settings would not provide me with the necessary exploration of this condition. My approach therefore was to sample and conduct fieldwork until my data stop telling me anything new about the dimensions, processes, and relationality of blacks and whites' spatial epistemologies. This theory-saturation point required extensive and successive phases of field work until I was able to develop explanations and thick descriptions of blacks and whites spatial epistemologies (Mason, 2002, pp. 134-137). This theory-saturation approach was more appropriate for my illustrative, rather than representational approach to this dissertation research because I was attempting to explore and

explain the processes, dimensions, and relational nature of different groups' spatial epistemologies, rather than provide a statistically representative sample of these characteristics (Mason, 2002).

Perhaps most importantly, this approach is appropriate for research whose focus is on issues of identity and race. I do not expect that my research on these issues is representational of all African-American/Black or all White communities. I also do not believe that racial identity is an essentialist category, nor that it can be studied as either a flat or one-dimensional characteristic. As with all forms of identity, it is dynamic and fluid and therefore any attempt or argument that this research is representative would undermine this basic premise and ontological perspective. My use of the term "black" or "African American" is, as discussed in my introductory chapter and in Chapter 2, based on the racially meaningful experiences described to me by residents in this dissertation and is not intended to essentialize the racial categories used throughout this study. My intent is however to elevate these experiences as geographically, psychologically, and politically meaningful to residents and to argue that these experiences should be considered valid and should be valued as alternative understandings of the urban realm. Full disclosure of racial and identity based characteristics was taken into account during the analysis and coding of the data. In order to test the conceptual and theoretical framework developed during the analysis, I rigorously sought explanations that would counter the concepts and theories that emerged from the data. This issue is discussed more fully below in the section on Validity, Generalizability, and Reliability.

This research design is intended to ensure that I avoid common problems of ethnographic research, including uncritically adopting participants' views, relying on single accounts, and, perhaps most importantly, superficially collecting data and thereby developing shallow conceptual categories and theoretical contributions (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 23-25). In terms of the specific research questions explored in this dissertation, this research design is also intended to provide a level of rigor and reflection to ensure that 1) the theories developed are clear and cogent and 2) as a researcher I am able to engage, examine, and interpret the level of complexity that has emerged from the field work. As this dissertation is essentially focused on issues of power, identity, and place, it is critical that I have not only deeply engaged in the field work to uncover these often tacit issues, but that I have rigorously analyzed the experiences, conditions, and processes that give substance to the theoretical contributions of this dissertation.

Methods

My central research questions focus on two categories: 1) How does race shape urban experience? What are blacks and whites' spatial epistemologies and are they qualitatively different? and 2) What is the spatial epistemology of the practice of urban planning? To answer these questions, I employed qualitative ethnographic methods, including primarily interviews and participant observation, but also cognitive mapping and text analysis.

This narrative approach prioritized narratives and stories as a way that people convey meaning and experience. The use of narrative in this research is both object (e.g. how residents use language and stories to describe, make meaning of, and represent their experiences as minorities in the city) and method, an approach that is "underwritten by an assumption that narratives provide a lens or window through which we can best study social life" (Ewick & Silbey, 2003, p. 203). The majority of interviews and larger community meetings were taped (as was permissible by the residents) and transcribed for coding and analysis. Extensive ethnographic field notes were taken during and after participant observation times (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), which were also used during qualitative coding and analysis.

Interviews

Interviews focused on residents' perceptions of their security in their neighborhood and their attachment/definition of the important places in their neighborhood that they are trying to protect. In-depth, unstructured interviews were conducted face-to-face in a location chosen by each resident, as well as on the phone with a few respondents. A general interview protocol was utilized to focus the conversation on the following themes:

- the meaning and importance of the neighborhood;
- racial experiences;
- specific places in the neighborhood that have historical, political, social, and emotional meaning for residents and where residents feel safe;
- history of residence/work in the neighborhood and how residents describe their neighborhoods and their emotional/historical connection to this land;
- what residents fear will happen to their neighborhoods;
- how residents work to create places of refuge (practices, policies/projects they support, etc);
- residents perceptions of other neighborhoods in the city;
- processes and projects residents support in order to protect their neighborhoods; and
- experiences of neighborhood change (including gentrification and any increasing diversity) and times when residents feel threatened.

The majority of interviews were recorded and transcribed. Interviews that were not recorded (informal conversations that took place during participant observations, community meetings, or informal meetings), were recorded both during and after via ethnographic note taking (Emerson, et al., 1995). I also took notes during recorded interviews in field notebooks and used these notes to ask further questions during the interview and during subsequent conversations. In total, a minimum of 10 interviews were conducted in each neighborhood, with more being conducted in the Lower Ninth Ward and Lakeview. I fully transcribed 5 interviews from the Lower Ninth Ward, 5 interviews from Lakeview, and 4 interviews from Treme. For the remaining recorded and non-recorded interviews, I analyzed my field notes and notes taken during listening and re-listening to the interviews. Additionally, during participant observation sessions and meetings with community members, I had informal conversations with residents and activists where I talked directly about the topic of my research and asked residents for their thoughts/perceptions about their neighborhood, why they lived there, how they perceived rebuilding etc.. During and/or after these conversations, I took ethnographic field notes in my field notebooks. In total, over 15 of these informal conversations took place within each neighborhood.

Participant Observation

Participant observations were also made at community meetings regarding development and planning, as well as at informal community spaces in each neighborhood. At this time of this research, New Orleans had just completed a Master Planning process and was undergoing the process of creating a new Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance (CZO). Throughout my field work, I attended and made observations at these city planning meetings, CZO meeting, and other regularly held community-level meetings and events related to each neighborhood's cultural and community development. These meetings/events included regular community organization meetings (Tremé, Lower Ninth Ward, and Lakeview). I also attended social/religious events and made observations at local community spaces in each community. These spaces included second-line parades and festivals, community cafes and restaurants, local bars, community celebrations, local art/fresh food markets, and small community meetings. In order to avoid using representational logic as best possible (Mason, 2002, p. 131), I chose these locations based upon recommendations from respondents and general community events listings. I estimate that I spent between 75-100 hours in each community, making observations and talking with residents at these events and settings.

Additional Methods

Visual Analysis: Cognitive and Genealogical Mapping, Neighborhood Tours and Site Visits

During many interviews with residents, I used cognitive and genealogical mapping (Lynch, 1964), as well as site visits and tours of the neighborhood. Cognitive maps are visual tools used to represent and identify social and political places that have importance to the respondent and are used to raise questions about the significance and knowledge of place and respondents' perceptions about place and space. Genealogical mapping emphasizes the genealogy of place and was used with a couple of residents to understand their familial place-based connections. While respondents drew a number of cognitive and genealogical maps during interviews, I did not attain a large enough sample of these maps to present them as part of the dissertation research. I did use these maps as data for analyzing the importance and perception of place (see below) and plan on conducting further mapping with residents in future research.

Although a comprehensive analysis of each neighborhood was not conducted, spatial analysis and documentation were conducted by photographically documenting the important sites and places that residents commented on during interviews and by taking tours and conducting site visits with respondents. Neighborhood tours and site visits with residents were used as a form of interviewing and participant observation and during this process I noted descriptive aspects about the place and how residents responded to the place. When these interviews or meetings were not recorded, I made notes during and after the meeting.

Texts

A qualitative content analysis and use of texts produced by the communities provides another lens to 1) how places of refuge are reconstructed and protected and 2) the language used to convey this aspiration. In this way, the use of historical and current documents produced about and by these communities contributed to my understanding regarding how security is produced, projected, and protected in the city amidst change. The use of texts and correspondence also conveyed how an event such as Katrina is interpreted and represented by local residents and activists. The texts analyzed in my dissertation included historical documentation about the communities, as well as neighborhood organization documentation and communication produced after Hurricane Katrina and during the time of reconstructing the city. I used only the documents produced by residents in each neighborhood (i.e. community master plans, project development proposals, historical

documents, etc.) as data within my analysis. Additional texts produced about each community were used in Chapter 3.

Data Analysis

Using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), data analysis was conducted during fieldwork and after to allow for the construction and exploration of social theory that can then inform any necessary additional fieldwork. Grounded theory is most appropriate to this research, as it generates theory from the data gathered in the field. Extensive coding of the data, using both the qualitative software NVivo and hand coding was used to ensure systematic analysis of the data. This coding process allowed for the data to be distilled, sorted, and compared (Charmaz, 2006), thereby structuring the analysis of the dimensions of how residents in these communities seek to emplace their psychological and political security, the processes by which places of refuge are constructed, represented, and maintained, and the relational aspects of these places.

Interviews, participant observations, and community meeting notes were transcribed and I coded these transcriptions line-by-line and with focused coding to create analytical categories and themes across interviews within individual neighborhoods and then comparatively across the three neighborhoods. An example of the coding themes that emerged include overarching themes about the worth of a community; racial experiences; space, place, and location; and city/community development and planning and the role of the local government. Within these overarching themes, I used emergent codes that include the following:

Table 7: Sample of Coding Themes	
Worth of a Community	
Lakeview	Economic worth, Family-oriented, Safety, Location
Lower Ninth Ward	Family, History, Landscape, Location, Community Shareholders
Treme	History, Living Culture, Race and Freedom
All Neighborhoods	Location (geographic, relational, relationship to city center), Socio-spatial boundaries,
Racial Experiences	
Lakeview	Lack of racial narrative across interviews with current residents, Whiteness (former residents)
Lower Ninth Ward	Safety/Feeling at home, Back-a-town, Holy Cross v Lower Nine, Development of Lower Nine, Blackness, Being white in a black neighborhood
Treme	Free People of Color, Creoles, Heart of the City's Culture, Spatial practices, Blackness, Back-a-town
All Neighborhoods	Blackness and whiteness
Space, Place, and Location	
Lakeview	Location, Ideal place, safety, Proximity, Boundaries, Isolation

Lower Ninth Ward	Holy Cross v. Lower Nine, Isolation, Boundaries, Landscape/Nature, Vulnerability/Sustainability, Porches
Treme	Historic Treme v. Treme, Isolation, Boundaries, Vulnerability, Stoops, Black spaces (bars, music halls, restaurants, corner stores)
All Neighborhoods	Isolation and Boundaries
City/Community Development and Planning and the Role of Local Government	
Lakeview	Distribution of funding, Fairness, Change
Lower Ninth Ward	Segregation, Coming home, Distribution of funding, Fairness, Rebuilding, Mobility, Change
Treme	Economic development/Vulnerability, Investment/Displacement, Rebuilding, Gentrification, Fairness, Mobility, Segregation, Change
All Neighborhoods	Fairness, Rebuilding, Change

From the literature, I also tested for overarching themes such as race and whiteness [including racial boundaries (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000; Michèle Lamont, 1999; Michele Lamont & Molnar, 2002; Young, 1990)] and race and place - including homeplace (hooks, 1990), the political subsidy of place (Harris-Lacewell, 2007), whiteness and social distancing (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000), the role of black places (Kelley, 1994; May, 2001), and the use of narratives and social practices (Ewick & Silbey, 2003; Ewick & Silbey, 1995; Regis, 1999, 2001)].

The use of both grounded analytical categories as well as analytical categories drawn from the literature were understand the relationships (contrasts and similarities) across these communities and to "provide a conceptual handle on the studied experience" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 3). Through continued analysis and testing of these concepts across the data, I came to the more theoretical implications of this work, including the larger themes presented in Chapters 5-7 such as the use of landscape and geography for freedom and survival, the emphasis or minimization of race, the connections between narratives and action, and the ontological meanings of space and race for constructing socio-spatial identities. This process was an iterative one, in which I returned to the data in both raw and coded form throughout the course of writing in order to strengthen the discussions presented in subsequent chapters.

Finally, although a comprehensive analysis of the spaces of each neighborhood was not undertaken, I did document the spaces of each neighborhood that were most commonly noted across interviews and observations. At times, I visited different sites with neighborhood residents and activists and conducted interviews and observations with them in these places, noting both what they said and how they responded to the space. Similarly, with many residents I used the technique of cognitive mapping. However, as not enough cognitive maps were attained over the course of this research, they are not presented here. Still, the maps, the site visits, and the site documentation provided

information about the spaces and places that hold meaning for residents and this data was used in order to further understand the relationship between place and racial identities/experiences/meaning.

Reliability, Validity, and Generalizability

The issue of validity, generalizability, and reliability in qualitative research is fraught with the fact that the philosophical approaches guiding this type of grounded research are "explicitly anti-positivist, anti-realist, or anti-modernist, and yet it is from these methodological traditions that criteria for evaluating research and evidence have been conventionally derived" (Mason, 2002). As noted in the above section on research design and sampling, reliability, validity, and generalizability are mechanisms by which quantitative research is measured and valued, and thus provide less methodological and even epistemological guidelines for measuring and valuing the contributions, consistency, and accuracy of qualitative research. As Mason (2002) notes, these measures are based on the premise and "assumption that methods of data generation can be conceptualized as tools, and can be standardized, neutral, and non-biased" (p. 187). Nevertheless, I concur with Freeman (2006) and Mason (2002) that these are at the very least necessary questions and concepts to confront when conducting qualitative research and that qualitative research and methods should be concerned with the more general questions of accuracy and the ability to ensure and demonstrate that the methods, data gathering, and analysis have all been thoroughly, carefully, and honestly conducted (Mason, 2002).

One way of ensuring that qualitative research is reliable is to present a thorough documentation of the research design, sampling, methods, and analysis and to explain in detail how the research was conducted and the conclusions were reached. This is in fact one of the reasons that the research design and methods section of this dissertation is broken out into a detailed chapter and that I have conducted three phases of field work. Additionally, I believe that by generating multiple forms of data, testing for theoretical-saturation and negative sampling, using a grounded theory approach, and by conducting systematized, coded data analysis, my methods and data analysis are reliable in the sense that this conceptualization of security as a spatial, psychological, and political good sought, represented, and protected by different groups in the city against real and perceived change is a real phenomena and way of being in the world for those residents that I studied in this dissertation.

I agree with Mason (1997) that the concept of validity, though perhaps interpreted differently than in quantitative research, is a particularly salient issue for qualitative researchers. In order to ensure that my research is valid - or that I am identifying and observing what I intend to and that my data illuminates and explains what I am claiming to illuminate and explain (Mason, 2002), I am using a method and source of data gathering/analysis (e.g. interviews, observations, mapping and visual analysis, as well as systematic coding analysis) that will allow me to answer my research questions. In other words, my research design, sampling, and methodology all reflect and allow me to answer my research questions. For instance, my focus on race and place has led me to questions and methods that allow a racially diverse group of respondents to discuss, explain, clarify, and highlight how they racially experience the city and their neighborhoods. By generally focusing on, but not leading respondents to, the topic of race and racial experience, I can understand how salient the issue of race is to organizing their everyday lives, but also ensure that I am not putting words in respondents' mouths.

Similarly, while I believe that the particular racial conditions and use of space are unique to New Orleans, I do not feel that New Orleans is unique in its racial and spatial complexity or in its residents' need to create their own sense of safety amidst urban change. Given the consistent attention in planning to urban change (sustainable development, shrinking cities, etc.), the concern regarding racial and spatial inequality is not a concern unique to New Orleans. Therefore while the details of these particular racial hierarchies and use of space might be unique to New Orleans or the Southern part of the United States, I believe that the general patterns and impetus to deal with racial equality in space is a more generalizable need in all U.S. cities.

Limitations of the Research

There are certainly limits to this empirical work, including its limited scope and breadth within these neighborhoods. Within research of this nature (qualitative and ethnographic), as scholars we are always charged with the dilemma of representing our empirical work as valid, but not essentialized. Particularly with my emphasis on race, I faced this charge of not over-essentializing racial categories while also arguing that these racial categories have validity for how the city is experienced and envisioned by different groups. There are tensions both within and between these racial groupings (including between Creoles and blacks, between men and women, between old-timers and new-comers, between economic classes, etc.) that I was unable to get at thus far in my empirical work and analysis and I'm sure that the work suffers from this. While I have tried to

present these worldviews based on the empirical work conducted in each neighborhood and across the city, I cannot argue that these ideas are representative of all black urban experiences, much less even the black experience in New Orleans – not that such a thing exists. However, I do believe that my arguments have, at the very least, merit for further exploration and since they generally fit in with other work conducted and being conducted by scholars on black political thought and black geographies, my hope is to add to this discussion and to argue that planning should pay attention to these works and to the liberatory potential of blacks' spatial epistemologies.

Field Notes on Entering a Community

> Dime con quien andas y te dire quien eres.
> Tell me with whom you walk and I will tell who you are.
> Miguel H. Diaz

Qualitative research has much to do with who you are introduced to and with whom you speak with in a community. As Stack (1974) notes, who you speak with first often dictates who you will speak with later in a community. Similarly as Freeman (2006), Hyra (2008), Falk (2004) and May (2001) note, our own racial and gender identities, as well as our identities as researchers and/or community participants, influence how we gain entry into a community and the interactions we share with residents in order to understand our research questions. My own fieldwork for this dissertation has only confirmed these warnings. It would be foolish to imagine, particularly in a dissertation about identity and place, with a specific focus on race, that my own identity has not influenced the interactions I have had over the course of my fieldwork. Put plainly, this research is complicated by my own visible identity (Alcoff, 2006) as a relatively young, white, female who lives in Uptown New Orleans. As Stack asks, "Is it possible for an outsider who symbolizes the dominant culture to enter a black community, win the community's participation and approval, acquire reliable date, and judge its reliability" (1974, p. ix)? I would expand this critical research question by noting that issues of identity and research are further complicated by the role we play within the communities we study - our roles as researchers and/or community participants (e.g. my identity as a researcher from MIT and as a pre-Katrina resident of New Orleans). While I am not naïve enough to say these complexities do not matter, I view this reality as something to be critically and continuously examined throughout the course of fieldwork/analysis.

In my fieldwork, I have found that the lines between researchers and community members continually shift and must be continually re-negotiated. Further, my fieldwork experiences tell me

that identity – whether constructed and projected along racial lines, community lines, or Hurricane Katrina survival lines, is used differently, at different times and in different political and social contexts. Take for instance an interaction with two elder community members in the Lower Ninth Ward.

In preparation for a presentation at the Urban Affairs Association conference in March 2010, where I was presenting preliminary research from my dissertation, I was driving around the Lower Ninth Ward taking photos. During my drive, I encountered two community residents, both elder black men, both of whom I had interacted with at many other community meetings. My interactions with both had, to this point, focused mainly on community rebuilding efforts and issues pertinent to the Lower Ninth Ward and while my previous conversations with both men were certainly charged by the work of trying to rebuild the Lower Nine, my position had been associated with one of the local community groups.

On this day, when I encountered these two men with my camera, their responses to me immediately shifted. Two comments stand out. In response to my question regarding how they were both doing, one resident's response was, 'If you are from the Lower Ninth Ward pre-Katrina, you are not doing well, you are surviving.' A moment later in the conversation, the other resident asked whether I was going to take pictures of the whole community or only of the Holy Cross area. Both comments suggest that my role vis-à-vis these residents had changed. Whereas before I had been associated with a local community group I volunteered for, I was now seen as an outsider with a camera documenting their community (or only part of their community). Further, the depiction of this Lower Ninth Ward identity as a community of survivors not only indicates the perception of differences between me and the resident, it clarifies how identity is used and framed differently depending on the interactions of a specific situation set within a larger socio-political framework.

Working in the context of post-Katrina New Orleans is further fraught with the exaggerated number of researchers present in the city since the storm. Many communities have taken part in academic research only to be left feeling that they are specimens under a microscope rather than real human beings undergoing a terrible and long-lasting trauma. Many residents have further noted that their participation in academic research has been extractive and they have participated in data collection and planning only to have the data and plans generated for their community not be given to them to

use for their future development. Enough of these types of research practices have happened to make communities far more wary of research and researchers.

My fieldwork was structured to take this reality into account and I continued to reflect on this reality as I gathered data across all three phases of my fieldwork. In both the Tremé and the Lower Ninth Ward communities, I have gained entry by volunteering with one or more community initiatives. In the Lower Ninth Ward, an MIT fellowship placed me with the CSED and in Tremé, a local organizer introduced me to the New Orleans African American Museum (NOAAM). My initial entry points into the Lakeview community were two residents and a fellow researcher. My entry points into each community via these initial relationships of course set into motion a particular set of power dynamics and raised issues of representativeness and authenticity, as they relate to the internal dynamics of each neighborhood.

One drawback from this method of gaining entry into an organized coalition within a community is itself mired in issues of power and status in the community. Although each organization I have chosen as my initial entry point was chosen because they represent something fundamental to each neighborhood's spatial epistemology, i.e. a connection with the land and a perception of being outside the city in the Lower Ninth Ward and a connection with the living cultural practices and Creole society that have strong spatial determinants in Tremé, I am aware that this method of entering a community is not without its own limitations. One of the main tensions with this type of entry into a community is that you become associated (at times) with the work of a specific organization. While no community is without tensions about what local organizations are doing and how they are representing (both figuratively and politically) the community in their work, the Lower Ninth Ward and Tremé are particularly fraught with these tensions as almost countless organizations exist in each community and many are competing for funding streams and recognition at the local and city-wide level. To overcome this I branched out from these initial organizations and used different techniques for informal and formal interviewing of a wider range of residents and for conducting participant observations at a host of events, community meetings, and community sites. In response to this condition of conducting research, I varied my sampling approach after initial community entry.

Chapter 5
Envisioning the "New" Lakeview

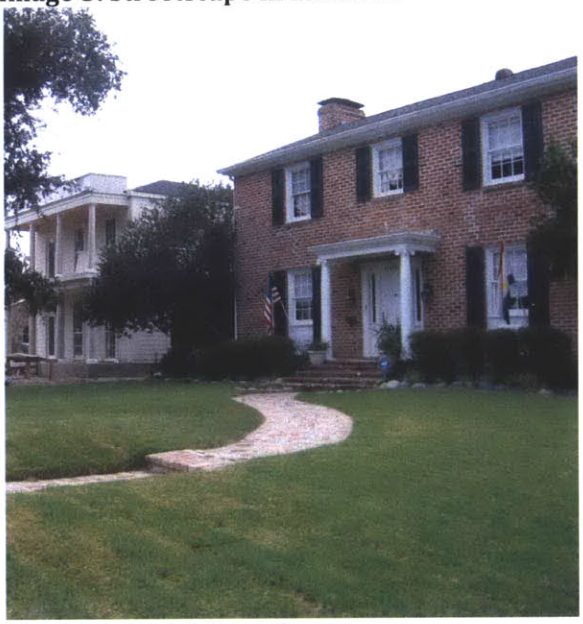
Introduction

Lakeview is the economic heart and soul of the city. (Lakeview resident)

Image 4: Streetscape in Lakeview

Source: Photo by the author

Image 5: Streetscape in Lakeview



Source: Photo by the author

Crossing into Lakeview feels like you are leaving the city of New Orleans and entering a typical American suburb. Houses are more suburban in style with deep front yards and American or seasonal flags. Harrison Avenue is the one shopping and dining destination in a sea of single-family ranch-style homes. Regularly held community meetings are held in the gym of a large local church and it is here that this majority white community has worked since Katrina to ensure that their neighborhood remains as wealthy and white as possible. Though residents do not often say such a thing directly, their community work post-Katrina and their consistent comments across interviews during this research affirm their need to rebuild their neighborhood and maintain control over this image that they have long harbored of their community. And while their emphasis is on controlling crime and the condition of the streets or on ensuring that front yards are maintained and streetscapes are visually pleasant, residents and neighborhood organizers interviewed in this study utilize a non-racial discourse and traditional planning tools to ensure that they can ultimately control who lives in their community (and who does not), as well as the physical development of their community and the distribution of city resources toward their neighborhood. While this itself

is not atypical for any neighborhood, an analysis of Lakeview residents' discourse about place shows that they obscure issues of racial inequality in order to highlight their individual efforts and economic status. In doing so, they seek a "new" Lakeview that perpetuates the status quo of emplaced racial inequality and their own emplaced white advantage and privilege.

In the following chapter I first discuss the redevelopment visions in Lakeview and the role of planning in shaping the neighborhood's recovery. I then move to a discussion of two main themes found across interviews with residents in Lakeview: individualism and race before concluding the chapter with a discussion about white socio-spatial epistemologies and white spatial privilege and its dominance as a development paradigm.

(Re)building The Ideal Place to Live

> Lakeview is a small town. (former Lakeview resident)

Talking with residents in Lakeview reveals that they have an idealized neighborhood type in mind when discussing their neighborhood and what they would like it to be. Former Lakeview residents recall that their childhood was dominated by feeling safe enough to spend their summer days walking around the neighborhood and visiting the pet shop and snowball stand on Harrison. For current residents and leaders of the LCIA, Lakeview is an "ideal" place to raise a family. They emphasize that it is safe and diverse and ideally located near the lake and the suburbs, while still easily accessible to downtown. 'Lakeview is centrally located, with good neighbors and a low crime rate. You can walk to the store and shops on Harrison Avenue,' (Lakeview resident). 'Lakeview is self-contained – we have all the services we need' said another resident.

Figure 10: Adopted Land Use Plan, Lakeview

Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

Figure 11: Proposed CZO, Lakeview

Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

Lakeview residents' narrative about their community being a safe and ideal place to raise a family is reflected in their work to ensure individualized family spaces such as private, single-family homes, strict delineation between land uses, and family-oriented recreational places. "Lakeview is extremely diverse in a positive way architecturally speaking," described one resident. Reflected in the city's new Adopted Land Use Plan and Proposed CZO, the "new" Lakeview will have an even stricter suburban style with the gradual elimination of traditional doubles and the elimination of Harrison Avenue's historical mix of residential and commercial uses (Figures 10 and 11, Appendices D and E). While former Lakeview residents interviewed viewed these changes as making the neighborhood far more suburban than when they lived there, these efforts and their reflection in space strongly represent current residents' values and idealizations of place. Current Lakeview residents' socio-spatial identities are constructed from these suburban style development patterns as well as from their racial privilege. For instance, residents have a more uniform and less varied perception of urban space, a vision of space they are trying to reinforce by more strictly defining and delineating land uses. Lakeview residents locate their social and commercial lives and the heart of their neighborhood along the main business corridor on Harrison Ave., which runs

through the middle of the neighborhood. Although Robert E. Lee is also a mixed-use corridor with abundant commercial and educational uses, this corridor is the northern border of the neighborhood and residents do not discuss this mixed-use corridor when talking about where the social and commercial life of their neighborhood gets located.

Further, whereas Lower Ninth Ward and Treme residents draw upon the physical pattern of porches and stoops as an essential part of their socio-spatial identities, as we will see in Chapters 6 and 7, residents in Lakeview do not locate their socio-spatial identities on the porch or on the stoop (these spaces never came up in interviews with residents). Instead, they locate themselves and their sense of community in organized community meetings[21] (as residents in the Lower Ninth Ward also do) and they locate themselves in terms of their childhood and now their children's mobility (again drawing upon an idea of safety and isolation from harm), but they don't even raise the topic of social spaces like porches and stoops as vital to their sense of community attachment. This is not because Lakeview did not have its share of doubles and single-family homes with porches prior to Katrina, but simply because these spaces are not seen as vital to the community's livelihood or sense of itself as a community nor are these spaces perceived as community spaces. These interviews suggest that in Lakeview, where there are strict delineations between public and private life, there is a far more individualized and privatized view of space (Harrison Avenue versus residential areas of the neighborhood). As we will see, in the Lower Ninth Ward and in Treme the line between private space and community space is much more blurred and far less defined.

Lakeview is changing rapidly since the storm and "everything continues to move forward in Lakeview" (Lakeview resident). Houses are becoming larger and property owners are buying adjacent properties available from former property owners that did not return after Katrina[22]. There are "big houses everywhere" said one former resident. Unlike many areas of the city hard hit by Katrina, Lakeview's property values are thriving according to residents and a main theme in the work of the Lakeview Community Improvement Association is ensuring that blighted and unkempt properties don't continue to "bring down property values" (Lakeview resident).[23] These expansions both upward and outward stand to bring to the surface long-held ideas about

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[21] There is less variation among organizations in Lakeview compared with the extensive number of organizations in the Lower Ninth Ward and much of the redevelopment efforts are led by the local neighborhood organization, the LCIA. Early on, the LCIA was aided by the physical rebuilding and neighborhood documentation efforts of the Beacon of Hope organization.
[22] Data not verified.
[23] Data not verified.

Lakeview's economic worth and individual rebuilding efforts. The redevelopment of residential areas is also occurring with the influx of younger white residents who are buying older Lakeview homes being sold by residents not returning (many of whom are older) (Good, 2011). NORA has aided in this process by auctioning off its Road Home properties in Lakeview (LCIA, 2011), something it has been hesitant to do in the Lower Ninth Ward. Residents often commented in interviews that these NORA properties are going for far higher prices than anywhere else in the city.[24] You can also see evidence of the changes in Lakeview by looking at the redevelopment of Harrison Avenue and in residents' comments about the renewed vitality of this commercial strip. The once local shops, such as the pet store, snowball stand, and art store are now neighbors to upscale restaurants, a revamped grocery store, a soon to be complete elementary school, a new public library, new banks, new cafes, and new shopping destinations. Residents' aspirations for the neighborhood include improving the streets, preventing crime, and ensuring that unwanted people are not in the neighborhood.

Lakeview residents interviewed and observed in this study described their idealized neighborhood as a haven from the crime and disorder of the city. Residents say that feel secure because they are: 1) safe from property and personal crime (because of the individualized and community actions taken to defend the neighborhood) and 2) safe from the disorder of the city because they are physically isolated in a "haven" of white, middle-upper class neighborhoods. Residents emphasized that they have kept Lakeview safe by instituting an additional annual property fee to support additional police patrols in their neighborhood. They also emphasized that the main focus of their community activism was on "cleaning the community up" and ensuring that the streets are repaired, that homes are in good condition, and that no affordable or multi-family housing can be built. "The only thing standing in Lakeview's way is the condition of the streets," said one resident.

Residents interviewed commented that they value their neighborhood because they and their fellow residents invest in and maintain their properties to a certain visual level. One former resident noted that to maintain homogeneity, Lakeview polices residents' political signs and regulate the front lawns of single-family homes. Lakeview residents are really 'going the distance with landscaping and yards' post-Katrina said one former resident. They are trying to keep their world "in-tact" by staking out their homes "with a vengeance" and putting up more decorations during holidays said this resident. Another resident commented that this infusion of money is

[24] Data not verified.

having a "ripple effect" in the community and that the extent of investment is a "plus for the neighborhood" and its revitalization. Residents also commented that in Lakeview, residents are willing to invest in their community, implying that in other neighborhoods this was not the case. As discussed in Chapter 6, residents' perceptions of "cleaning the community up" are very different from Treme residents' perceptions of 'being cleaned out', indicating that there are stark differences between black and white residents and how they view the security of their geographic tenure and how they understand their psychological attachments to place to be valued or not. Rather than elicit comments about a psychological attachment to a specific geographical territory in the city or a need to be protected, as a community, from displacement, devaluation, or disempowerment, Lakeview residents, who don't sense the level of psychological denigration found in the Lower Nine or Treme, emphasized that they have the power to control change in their community and protect it from unwanted changes.

Finally, Lakeview residents' narratives about "cleaning the community up" placed an emphasis not only on visual order, but also on maintaining and increasing property values. While residents' emphasized their investments in their own individual properties during interviews, in recent community discussions residents also emphasized the need to attract increased investment to their neighborhood and increasing/maintaining a certain level of visible wealth in their neighborhood (Eggler, 2011). Residents also discussed the possibility of becoming a gated community or issuing a toll to anyone who came to visit their neighborhood in order to promote and secure the wealth of the community. This approach echoes former work done by neighborhood leaders to secede from the city 9 years ago and have Lakeview become its own municipality. In addition to these discussions were further comments that individuals' failure to maintain their properties (one of the reasons given for their work to prevent more doubles from being built) will result in the failure of the community. LCIA leaders admonished residents that if they do not vote to pay the extra $150 per year for a street maintenance district (discussed below), they would then "live in a third world country" and leaders dismissed residents claims that this additional funding would make Lakeview less affordable, particularly for the elderly. 'I've heard that argument before and I'm not sure it's a valid argument' said one LCIA leader. As we will see in Chapter 7, this view of redevelopment is distinctly different when compared with how Lower Nine residents view their shared fate and sense of community. In Lakeview, their sense of shared fate hinges on economic (and visual) consistency and success and the benefits Lakeview residents see from their shared fate are purely economic (in the form of property values) and visual (in the form of a "clean and safe" community).

Overwhelmingly Lakeview residents interviewed and observed focused on the economic worth of the community and, referencing and denigrating the Lower Nine, on the worth of their community vis-à-vis other neighborhoods. Comparisons to the Lower Ninth Ward happened often in community meetings in Lakeview and in individual interviews with residents. Lakeview residents described the Lower Nine as a place that gets more than its fair share of city intervention and therefore, threatens Lakeview's livelihood as a neighborhood. Current residents are very likely to talk about the economic worth of their neighborhood and insist that their neighborhood provides the city with 40% of its tax base.[25] "Lakeview is the economic heart of the city" one resident said numerous times. This estimation of their own worth has a long history and fed into the neighborhood's attempt to secede from the city nine years ago. In terms of how this plays out psychologically (and whether or not this narrative about their economic worth is factual), residents in Lakeview use the denigration of other neighborhoods' economic worth in order to heighten their own perception of their worth and justify their efforts to maintain their community as an affluent, white neighborhood. Psychologically then, this narrative plays out in racialized ways because it normalizes viewing a community's worth solely by its economic contributions to the city. This narrative also shapes how residents perceive issues of fairness and distribution across the city, a point I return to below. In doing so, residents work to keep others out who are perceived as being not worthy and gain the backing of planners in doing so.

The Role of Planners

As we will see in Chapters 6 and 7, there are stark contrasts between the role planners have played in Lakeview versus the role they play in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward. My argument is that these contrasts elicit a problem for planners who condone some forms of land development and not others, all the while failing to fully understand the repercussions for their urban development proposals on different communities. The redevelopment of Lakeview's urban pattern has been greatly aided by city planning. While planners have largely ignored the cultural redevelopment aspirations of Treme discussed in Chapter 6 and the sustainable restoration goals of the Lower Ninth Ward discussed in Chapter 7, they have condoned the exclusive redevelopment goals of Lakeview. Although arguably exclusive, planners supported Lakeview's proposed zoning changes to prohibit the construction of more doubles or multi-family residences and have therefore helped Lakeview residents shape future development toward this idealized single-family community.

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[25] Data not verified.

Additionally, planners have supported the economic development schemes of local residents leaders to redevelop Harrison Avenue as a commercial corridor (ignoring the vested interests of residents who lived on what was a mixed-use street of residential and commercial). Residents are also currently working with planners to try to institute design standards to ensure that they can control the visual development of this corridor as well.

In utilizing their access to local planners and politicians to implement their visions, Lakeview residents and the LCIA have often called on city representatives and planners to consider how Lakeview has not received its fair share of redevelopment projects. Calling the LCIA the "most sophisticated organization" (Lakeview resident) in the city, the LCIA (led by current and former LCIA presidents) has been instrumental in working since Katrina to redevelop the neighborhood, to organize residents, and to coordinate their work with city planners and politicians. Lakeview residents have directed their activism and their narratives toward local and state politicians and planners and draw on their access to these politicians to shape recovery and investment in their neighborhood. This access has allowed Lakeview to recover 'more quickly than any other community' (Lakeview resident). Residents are incredibly strategic when they feel threatened and undervalued within planning or governmental distributional processes and they are quick to seek the assistance of higher political officers such as the City Council or the Mayor when planners do not support their goals. As noted above, Lakeview residents' narratives focus on two major themes: economic worth and an idealized conceptualization of their family-oriented, safe neighborhood. Residents' framing of their economic worth and their contributions to the city's tax base are used to exemplify their sense of their community as being the best place to raise a family in the city. By elevating these two issues, Lakeview residents argue that they are the idealized type of neighborhood that should be supported by planning projects and proposals. As discussed below, this narrative relies on Lakeview residents' perception of themselves as racial minorities when it comes to distributional issues such as street repair dollars (Eggler, 2011) or general redevelopment dollars.

Further, residents often request that planners host meetings exclusively for their neighborhood, rather than for their district. For instance, residents requested that rather than have a district wide CZO meeting, they be allowed to have their own CZO meeting in their own community. Although local planners did not comply with their requests, residents saw no point in having a planning meeting that would incorporate other neighborhoods. As I discuss below, this indicates that white

residents' socio-spatial identities are limited to the upper class, white neighborhoods adjacent to them.

Lakeview residents' socio-spatial identities or their understanding of the world is critical because it indicates a clear view of how they believe city planners should balance common concerns and shared resource and distributional issues.[26] Lakeview residents therefore use planning to protect their economic and racial boundaries – but their work is condoned and supported both zoning outcomes and planning processes and planning tools. Their activism *through planning* has allowed residents and community leaders to promote the exclusive economic and physical development of their neighborhood. Given these trends, planners' work in Lakeview remarkably contrasts with their work in the Lower Ninth Ward, where residents' narratives and efforts to shape the neighborhood have not been condoned through traditional planning tools such as Land Use and Zoning designations and design standards. As we will see in coming chapters, this indicates that the dominant planning tools used by planners thus better suit the narratives and ways of using space found in Lakeview, but not those found in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward.

Beyond condoning exclusive zoning in Lakeview, planners and policy makers have helped establish a self-perpetuating system of economic and racial dominance in space. Take for instance the Road Home program, a policy crafted at the state and federal level but implemented for local homeowners. As discussed in Chapter 3, initial funding schemes in this proposal granted compensation grants based on the pre-Katrina value of the home. Thus in neighborhoods like Lakeview where property values were higher, homeowners received twice as much to rebuild their homes and residents have been enabled to return and rebuild at a higher rate than in the Lower Ninth Ward where homeowners received far less funding and had less access to private loans to bridge the gap to rebuild (Table 6). My point is that although later gap funding helped alleviate this difference, the general and engrained development approach is to not only seek the highest returns on land development and increase property values (most often at the expense of low-income and minority communities), but to craft policies that perpetuate wealth in place. Thus planners and policy makers supported Lakeview residents not only in ensuring their return, but also in ensuring that their neighborhood remained an exclusive place of economic and racial privilege. My argument, which I return to in later chapters, is that this development approach not only undermines the types of land claims found in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward and perpetuates economic and

[26] Personal communication with Renia Ehrenfeucht, December 7, 2011

racial dominance as a spatial project, but that as a development paradigm it also potentially limits and restrains the types of collective political action necessary to challenge these practices, the types of practices necessary for a diverse democracy.

"Pulling ourselves up by our bootstraps"

> [Lakeview is a] working blue-collar neighborhood [where residents] earned their own way. (Lakeview resident)

Image 6: Sign in Lakeview

Source: Photo by the author.

Image 7: Sign in Lakeview

Source: Photo by the author.

There is a strong current of individualism that is reflected in Lakeview residents' idealizations about their community and their perceptions about 'taking the bull by the horns' (Lakeview resident) in their own work to rebuild and their neighborhood's redevelopment after Katrina. 'This is the mindset of the way we work. We are self-sufficient in order to take care of ourselves,' explained one resident. 'People in Lakeview say it and do it,' this resident further explained, 'we are too busy to feel sorry for ourselves' and 'that's what separates us' from people in other communities. We are "good solid people in this community' this resident concluded. Not only do redevelopment narratives since Katrina focus almost exclusively on implementing exclusionary zoning and more strictly delineated land uses, and visually expressing wealth – or what one resident describes as 'what is good for the neighborhood', they also emphasize the community and its residents' individual efforts at rebuilding. In other words, their individualism is reflected both in their narratives about redevelopment and the spaces they seek to build.

Lakeview residents emphasized a more individualistic development plan with single-family homes and a single business district, reflecting the neighborhood's historical development as a white, upper class enclave with a suburban style development pattern. As discussed below and in subsequent chapters, there are stark contrasts between black residents' use of space in the Lower Nine and Treme and white residents' use of space in Lakeview. Residents in Lakeview perceive space to be individualized (i.e. single-family homes) and differentiated (strict designations between residential and commercial areas) and their narratives reflect this spatial ideology. Their narratives focus on an idealized and individual family-oriented development pattern where safety from crime and unwanted people are ensured through their isolation from the city, their emphasis on cleanliness and property maintenance, and their strict isolation of different uses. This development style reinforces their individualistic approach to community development issues and is reflected in their narratives about community worth and independence. While it should not be overstated that this is the only narrative about community worth in Lakeview given that many residents also emphasize their connection to the community, it is the narrative that seems to be most reflective in the rebuilding of Lakeview and the actions supported by local organizations to raise/protect property values, improve the look of the community, and redevelop the economic corridor. Lakeview residents' narratives reflect the spatial development styles within which they are emplaced and their work to secure their community post-Katrina reflects an effort to further manifest these ideas of spatial order. While their ideology of individualism is reflected in space and in their aspirations for development, it is also reflected in their sense of worth as a community.

Lakeview residents' interviewed and observed at community meetings also tended to view themselves as ignored by the city and left to their own individual devices for redeveloping their neighborhood. While this narrative draws upon denigrated comparisons with the Lower Ninth Ward, as I discuss below, it also ignores the different levels of investment across the different neighborhoods in this study, particularly between the Lower Ninth Ward and Lakeview. As discussed above, Road Home funding averaged twice as much per homeowner in Lakeview compared with the Lower Ninth Ward (Table 6). But beyond this, public investments in Lakeview, including the redevelopment of the public library and school and infrastructure improvements (re-paving) have spurred private investment and redevelopment, particularly along Harrison Avenue. In comparison, both Lower Ninth Ward and Treme have seen a public school re-opening in their neighborhood (one in each), but other public investment projects are slow in coming. Despite the real public and private investments resulting in real on the ground and visible changes in Lakeview

post-Katrina, residents often noted that they had been ignored by the city *because of race* and because the city was distributing the funds elsewhere. Instead of seeing the larger government investment patterns and planning support as shaping their recovery, residents in Lakeview interpret the successful redevelopment of the neighborhood after Katrina as evidence of their own work, diligence, and activism in putting pressure on the city. And while this is of course partially true (their own activism put them in direct contact with local planners and politicians, thus allowing them to shape their recovery), the perception of individual responsibility that dominates larger development narratives conceals the ways that public and private investment perpetuate the divide (and unequally distribute resources with an already unequal society) and obscures the ways in which individualism undermines other types of *community* development work that we will see in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward.

This narrative of individualism is part of a national one in which white residents attribute development and outcomes through an individualized perspective, while denigrating residents that receive governmental support and ignoring the governmental support that has contributed to their *successes* (McGirr, 2001). As one white Lakeview resident commented, "we did all the work" and "we take care of ourselves". Unlike in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward in particular, residents in Lakeview draw upon an individualized or "bootstraps mentality" about rebuilding rather than a community-oriented view of rebuilding. For instance, in the Lower Ninth Ward, residents note that it is not just about themselves coming back and rebuilding but about the whole community being able to come back and rebuild. In Lakeview, while there is far more emphasis on the individual's right to return, there is still a sense of bringing the numerical population of the community back. Here, despite emplaced family networks and high nativity rates that residents said existed before the storm in Lakeview – "extended families were here like in the 9th ward" (former resident), residents placed less emphasis on family networks returning and more emphasis on middle-upper income families returning to rebuild. Residents commented that the success of their neighborhood's return hinged on having people with the same values and same habits of attending to and maintaining their property. This individualism or what Lakeview residents note, "separates them" from the rest of the city, is fundamental to their perception of themselves as an emplaced white, affluent neighborhood (see below).

As the research progressed over the course of this dissertation, the narratives regarding individual responsibility in the neighborhoods studied in this dissertation polarized even further. For

instance, in Lakeview, residents increasingly pointed out that distributive questions and issues of fairness should be linked to questions regarding individual work ethics and contributions to society.[27] As Lakeview residents considered taxing themselves an annual $150 per property parcel for street improvements (in addition to the annual fee they already pay for their crime watch), this narrative became increasingly tipped in favor of a redistributive narrative that would reallocate money away from communities who were not contributing to the city's tax base (stated directly by residents) and who had not repopulated. "If we are fortunate enough to get FEMA and the City to give us the money rather than it going to the Lower Ninth Ward" one resident stated, then they would be able to have better streets and continue to improve their property values. The streets are "what will hold property values down" in Lakeview and "what holds our community back", one resident explained. Interestingly, this narrative draws on a specific idea about individual responsibility within a community which is Lakeview is highly determined by individual financial contributions and what they perceive to be a strong work ethic or bootstraps mentality. In their effort to "take care of their own problems" Lakeview residents use this narrative to show where they think city and federal investment should happen and why.

"It's not about race"

While the emphasis on individualism reflected in Lakeview residents' narratives and redevelopment visions allow them to ignore race and racial inequality, residents are very careful when utilizing the subject of race. Here I want to argue that while they focus on class and economic privilege in their narratives about their community's *worth*, their narratives are about race and about the denigration of what they see as low-income black spaces in the city.

For many Lakeview residents interviewed in this study there is a growing perception of themselves as being insecure in their geographical position in the city due to the extent of their flooding during Katrina and due to their perception of being ignored by the city's redevelopment investments. Despite not receiving any calls by planners to be returned to green space after Katrina (Figure 8), the substantial public and private investment in Lakeview, and the high rate of return (Table 4), residents perceive themselves to be ignored by the city and therefore, threatened. While this issue played out psychologically in the early aftermath of the storm, it has increasingly drawn upon denigrated comparisons with the Lower Ninth Ward and the media/city attention given to the

[27] As discussed later in this chapter, Lakeview residents present a somewhat contradictory view of distribution – one tied to an equitable distribution of urban goods or funding, but also one tied to a community's financial contributions to the city's tax base.

Lower Nine since Katrina. When discussing the early aftermath of the storm, Lakeview residents did not interpret the green dot map (Figure 8) or who would or would not be allowed to return as having anything to do with race. However more recently, despite the very evident redevelopment differences between these neighborhoods – differences once could see easily by casually driving quickly through each neighborhood, Lakeview residents often commented in interviews and in public meetings that they have been ignored because of race and that the Lower Nine was receiving all of the attention and funding.

It is interesting that whites in Lakeview use race when they feel it will serve them to receive more benefits from the city in terms of recognition and real outcomes like investment dollars and redevelopment projects because this narrative contradictorily equates being a minority with receiving more from the government and with a reliance on the government. Through their perception of individual responsibility, whites in Lakeview ignore the fact that they are also reliant on government investment and are actively seeking it for their community redevelopment, while denigrating black communities and individuals that receive government support. Therefore, while white residents in Lakeview use race when it suits their community development purposes but ignore race when it comes to distributional issues for other communities, they take a narrative approach that devalues the legacy of development and neglect on communities such as Treme and the Lower Nine and assigns the blame for inequalities and poverty on black residents in these neighborhoods.

Current residents interviewed were unlikely to connect their work to eliminate doubles and affordable housing as having a racial bias and draw instead on an idealized perception of the neighborhood as a single-family and middle-upper class residential neighborhood (despite its historical development pattern which included a large number of doubles). These perceptions and aspirations for redevelopment are similar to those found in nearby St. Bernard Parish, where fair housing violations have been making their way through the courts since Katrina. In St. Bernard, these violations have included more typical NIMBYism with objections to and blocks on multi-family housing, but also attempts to institute "blood" or "kin" regulations on rental properties in order to prohibit certain types of people from moving to the parish (Alexander-Bloch, 2011). Lakeview residents have been able to implement these prohibitions through new zoning regulations that exclude new doubles and multi-family housing from being sited in the neighborhood. In both cases the narratives about who is allowed/wanted and who is not

allowed/wanted carefully ignore race (at least in the public sphere) and thus attempt to make it invisible as a motivating factor for redevelopment. Nevertheless, it is a means through which whites in Lakeview exert and normalize their socio-spatial identities and their dominance over land development. [28] These narratives draw upon an idealized and normative urban development pattern where affluence, exclusion, and privilege are dominant, but also where racial inequalities are carefully obscured.

However, the focus of current Lakeview residents' economic framing of their geography cannot be disentangled from a racialized framework couched in economic terms. One reason is that former Lakeview residents (residents who grew up in but no longer live in Lakeview) are much more likely to account for Lakeview's "lily-white" or "vanilla" (former Lakeview residents) identity and how segregated their youth in Lakeview was. Former residents commented that when they moved out of Lakeview or even when they attended school outside of Lakeview, they recognized how white their neighborhood was. Describing their upbringing as a safe one where they were free to roam the streets and visit the local snowball stand or pet store on Harrison Avenue and where they could walk to school on their own, former residents are quick to point out how insulated they were from the racial dynamics and realities of the majority of the city. Similarly, former residents noted that in their own conversations with current Lakeview residents about the neighborhood's segregation, current residents were both less likely to view Lakeview as a "lily-white" neighborhood and more likely to view Lakeview as diverse. This was also affirmed in my own interviews with current residents.

Another reason that race is a factor in residents' redevelopment aspirations is that current Lakeview residents' sense of place is closely tied to race (although often veiled as solely an economic narrative) because they talk often about their association with adjacent neighborhoods (all predominantly white and affluent), but not about their association with the city as a whole or with "other neighborhoods" that include the Lower Ninth Ward and New Orleans East. Residents in one meeting complained that public transportation restoration was going to these "other

[28] The difference between Lakeview and St. Bernard Parish is that Lakeview will not come under the scrutiny of Fair Housing Act because this policy considers the distribution of housing across a municipality. While discrimination by race is illegal, the issue of affordable and multi-family housing projects often comes under scrutiny at the municipal, not the neighborhood level (HUD, 1968). Although a fuller comparative analysis of these discourses was not in the scope of this dissertation, this does indicate that these fair housing issues ought to be considered within a municipality, rather than just across a municipality's accumulative fair housing.

neighborhoods" and not to Lakeview. Their associative boundaries stop at City Park and do not include the racially mixed Gentilly or Mid-City neighborhoods immediately to their east and south, whereas these narratives do include the other "lake" neighborhoods to their north and to their west [29] and the Metairie suburbs, all of which are predominantly white and affluent (Figures 2 and 3). Their associative boundaries also exclude more racially mixed Uptown and one resident commented that 'we don't have the issues here that they have Uptown.' Similarly, Lakeview residents are highly cognizant of the political impact of their white boundaries, emphasizing in City Council recent redistricting meetings that 'Lakeview will not be split' (Lakeview resident) in its political representation to the city and that if their "commonality of interests" were split up as a result of the redistricting process, there would be a "shift in power" (Lakeview residents).

Residents are also likely to draw on their relative geographic isolation from the majority of the city as part of their socio-spatial identities and connection to their neighborhood. Lakeview residents' perception of their own isolation has only been highlighted by the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. This narrative of isolation plays out in two major themes, one having to do with denigration and comparisons with black neighborhoods and one having to do more specifically with normative urban development approaches based on economic growth. Consistent comparisons to the Lower Ninth Ward by Lakeview residents become part of this trope of creating a white and normalized socio-spatial identity that elevates economic development and worth and ignores race. Current residents feel "raced" and penalized because they are white when they sense that they are not receiving their fair share of the city's resources. Further, in interviews current residents often commented on Lakeview as being an ideal neighborhood because of its diversity (despite Lakeview being historically over 90% white (Table 1)). Current residents when pressed about what they mean by diversity say that it is not about race but about having good neighbors who will keep up their property (Murphy, 2011) and that Lakeview is more culturally diverse than other neighborhoods because it has more types of restaurants.

Finally, residents' perceptions of their neighborhood as a "safe" and "family-friendly" neighborhood and therefore their own sense of psychological security within their neighborhood allude to and draw upon a perception of the majority of the city as being unsafe and not a good place to raise a family. Crime, which is statistically and comparatively low in Lakeview, is a strong community rallying point. Over the course of this research, a string of home-burglaries in Lakeview resulted in

[29] Lakeshore, Lake Vista, West End, Lakewood, and Navarre

heated outcries to the city and police, substantial jumps in participation at community meetings that became solely focused on crime, and residents' comments about purchasing guns to protect themselves. While crime is arguably more of an issue in both the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme, neither community receives as much media attention about crime nor is this one of the most salient issues that residents bring up when they talk about their attachment to the community or worries about its future. However in Lakeview, crime is often the center of community discussions and one LCIA leader said that it is only less important that the streets and flood protection in terms of issues the community faces. In response to the recent string of burglaries, one resident said that Lakeview wasn't 'going to stand for' these 'troubling and scary' developments. Importantly, crime and discussions of crime allude to ideas about race and who does or does not belong in their community. 'They 'aren't from this areas...they look like that are from the Hollygrove area' emphasized one resident during a heated discussion about the string of burglaries.[30] 'Some of these idiots don't have any education – they can't read' said another resident describing the imagined criminals.

Although Lakeview residents ignore race in their narratives and instead focus on class, it makes little sense to distinguish the two or to ignore race because places in New Orleans are so racially distinct (Figures 1-3) and there narratives about class are infused with allusions to racial minorities (as we see in the quotes above describing the imagined criminals). As noted above, Lakeview residents associate themselves only with white affluent neighborhoods. However, they do associate themselves with a neighborhood such as New Orleans East, which is a middle-class black neighborhood. Their socio-spatial identities are distinctly white, while the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme's socio-spatial identities are distinctly black, as we will see in Chapters 6 and 7. As we will see in Chapter 6, while New Orleans East is developmentally distinct from Treme and residents who live in the East have actively pursued similar policies against multi-family and affordable housing (Eggler, 2009), many of the Treme activists live in the East.[31] While many scholars argue that class is shaped by geography (Katznelson, 1981), my findings indicates that geography and race are much more aligned in shaping socio-spatial identities and imaginations and further, that whites and blacks do not think of themselves within the same class across these settings. Additionally, my findings indicates that geography plays a critical role in shaping racial identities or socio-spatial identities, of which race is a critical part, and that therefore, to think about class as a distinct

[30] Hollygrove is a predominantly black neighborhood (nearly 94% in 2010) in New Orleans (GNOCDC, 2000).
[31] A more extensive analysis of class as it relates to the black middle class in New Orleans was out of the scope of this dissertation. Important work on the black middle class, such as Mary Pattillo's work, does suggest that their identity formation is also a spatial project (Pattillo, 2007; Pattillo-McCoy, 2000), although it takes different forms than the cases explored here.

category makes little empirical or policy sense and to do so undermines the experience of race and racism as they are evident and experienced in urban space today (Omi & Winant, 1994).[32]

By ignoring racial and historical differences, current Lakeview residents are doing a few things. First, they are dismissing race as an active component of city life and in how they connect their psychological security to geographical privilege. In doing so, they are both elevating their own economic worth and value as a neighborhood and, through comparison, are devaluing the place of a neighborhood such as the Lower Ninth Ward as worthy of assistance and planning intervention. They are also ignoring the role of public investment in shaping their *successes* in rebuilding. Rather than seeing landscape through a racial lens, Lakeview residents' comments about their own economic landscape rely on individual privilege. This is decidedly different than the reliance on land or perception of land as an economic resource that we will see in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward. Across interviews, Lakeview residents commented on the economic value or worth of their neighborhood and how important it is for them to this wealth. Unlike in the Lower Nine or Treme, there was no emphasis on using the land for economic liberation because residents feel that they can use capitalism to recover and thrive as a community. Taken together, these narratives interestingly weave a pattern of economic and spatial privilege and individual responsibility, while undermining spatially emplaced racial inequalities.

Lakeview residents' perceptions of urban land as having solely economic and not racial undertones also shapes how they perceive distributive issues or issues of fairness. In a series of community meetings and interviews, Lakeview residents noted time and again that the Lower Ninth Ward was getting more than their "fair share" in street maintenance funding from FEMA for Hurricane Katrina damage. Questioning why Lakeview didn't receive the first wave of the new FEMA street maintenance funding rather than the Lower Ninth Ward, one resident noted that 'they should start in Lakeview with a thriving community and where people are taking care of their own needs.' After a recent city reassessment of Katrina-related damage to the city's infrastructure the city announced that the Lower Ninth Ward would receive $45 million in FEMA funding for street repair and maintenance (Donze, 2011). Lakeview leaders noted that they immediately went to City Hall, held 'angry' meetings with the Mayor and other public officials to protest this distribution of FEMA

[32] This analysis is not meant to underestimate class politics within racial categories, rather to indicate that policies that focus solely on class undermine the continuance and salience of racial difference and experience. More recent work on the black middle class, including Mary Pattillo (2007) and others, is an important part of critiquing this essentialist class framework.

dollars to the Lower Nine. "Why couldn't you have given us a little something...can't we get a piece of this pie" asked on resident at a community meeting. Lakeview residents' narrative about the Lower Ninth Ward's recent allocation of funding was also used to devalue the Lower Nine community as "worthy" of receiving funding.

This narrative acted on two levels. On the one hand, the view is disparaging of Lower Ninth Ward residents. "There is nobody down there," said one resident at a small community meeting about the streets district. On the other hand, the distribution of funding to the Lower Ninth Ward went against Lakeview residents' idea of fairness, one based, albeit contradictorily, on both an "equal" distribution of city, state, and federal funds and on a distribution of funds based on Lakeview residents' aforementioned sense of their own economic worth. In the first case, Lakeview's definition of fairness based on "equality" comes into question when they feel they are not getting their fair share and draws upon a simultaneous narrative about defining themselves as neglected by the city and as have earning their own way and led their own recovery. Second, and closely related, is a fair share narrative that says that since Lakeview is worth "40% of the city's tax base" and the "foundation of the city," they should be receiving more than an "equal" allotment of funding. 'Ya'll pay more taxes than anyone else and there is a large percentage of people who reap the benefits of your taxes who don't pay taxes – who pay 0 taxes,' said one LCIA leader at a meeting focused on the streets initiative. This view of distribution normalizes and privileges a purely economic view of spatial development and importantly, makes race and historical inequality invisible. For instance, residents concerned for instance about initiating the new streets district would lose 'what [they] are entitled to' were reassured by local leaders that they would "get what we are entitled to" from the city. Similarly, in discussions about crime, one leader assured residents that they would get the crime protection 'they are entitled to' from the city. This view of entitlement is used to justify residents' justifications for their contradictory ideas of distribution, which echo Same Bass Warner's (1987) work on Philadelphia and how privatism was used to maintain the unequal economic and spatial status quo. Ultimately and after much pressure on the city, Lakeview was awarded additional FEMA funding for street maintenance and repairs, however the proposed streets maintenance district did not pass voter approval.

Although much of the literature ignores white spaces as segregated spaces (D. S. Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987) and although framed as purely economic, Lakeview residents' perceptions and geographic associations are extremely racialized. While Lower Nine and Treme residents discuss

the intrinsic connection between race and landscape – or rather, interpret and find meaning in their landscape through a racial lens, Lakeview residents' narratives make race invisible even when they live within a majority black and highly segregated city. While Lakeview residents only discuss race when it comes to distributive issues or development issues and it is in these situations that their own perceptions of being raced come to the forefront, Lakeview residents' narratives should be seen as racial because they use their own economic privilege to ignore or denigrate race as a viable narrative through which urban experiences are understood. This privilege absolves white residents in Lakeview of any sort of blame and instead, justifies their privilege as individualized and normalized.

Conclusion: White Spaces of White Privilege

Lakeview is a place where we are "in charge of our own destiny" (Lakeview resident).

Dwyer and Jones (2000) theorize that whites' spatial epistemologies are essentialist, non-relational, discursive, bounded, and discrete and that they manifest spatially and in whites' identities. As we have seen, Lakeview residents' development narratives and visions reflect a spatial or redevelopment epistemology that emphasizes an idealized urban landscape that is uniform and individualized. They are trying to rebuild a neighborhood - and their own destiny - with strict delineations between uses, as well as strict delineations between the white and black spaces in the city. Lakeview residents' associative identities are also bounded to white affluent spaces and do not relate to black middle-upper class spaces.

While Dwyer and Jones' theoretical framework is consistent with my own findings, I think it is important to expand their conceptualization of whites' spatial identities and frame their discussion within the field of urban development. First, and as we will see in the comparative chapters, whites' spatial epistemologies do not draw on history and memory in the way that black communities do and instead, their narratives erase anything but an idealized past of growing up in Lakeview where they were free to roam the streets of Lakeview. Steven Hoelscher similarly finds in his study of white Natchez, Mississippi, that "leading citizens [of Natchez] work hard at cultivating this image and this landscape, and both employ a powerful invented tradition that says much about race in America...Symbols of opulence and gracious living for some become markers of subjugation for others" (2006, pp. 40-43). Comparing Lakeview residents' narratives with those that we will see from residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward, it feels almost like an entirely different city.

Whereas for Lakeview residents there is a "tidy separation of past and present" we will see that in Treme and the Lower Nine "black countermemory interprets history as an ongoing process" (Hoelscher, 2006, pp. 56-57).

This is not only the neighborhood of the past, it is the neighborhood that Lakeview residents are trying to rebuild – one that is buffered from the tensions and extremes of a capitalist city reliant upon tourism and stark inequalities. Although Lakeview residents understand their literal and figurative place in the city to be abstracted from the realities and racial tensions of the city as a whole, we should interpret their narratives to be reliant upon demonized racial and economic characterizations of other places in the city, namely what they essentialize as poor black spaces. This demonization justifies for them their contradictory definitions of the fair distribution of resource across the city and their own bounded approach to exclusive community building.

So while Lakeview residents connect their sense of worth and the worth of their community to their economic privilege and to the exchange value of their land, it is through this framework that they judge other communities. Similarly, while Lakeview residents are extremely cognizant of their access to local politicians and planners to shape their neighborhood, I'm not sure that they view blacks' displacement as depoliticizing and disempowering blacks in the city. We will see in Chapters 6-7 that black residents are very cognizant of connecting their territorialization to political power (Haymes, 1995). The difference between these narratives lies in the issue of racial dominance and the normalization of white spaces and of whites' spatial epistemologies.

My data suggest that we should think of white spaces and white narratives as being rooted in racial privilege and dominance. Despite their emphasis on individualism and economic worth, I argue above that Lakeview residents' spatial epistemologies rely on denigrating black spaces and the validity of racial experiences in the city. Thus not only do we see an understanding of fairness that tilts toward economic privilege, but we see a definition of fairness that denies the salience of racial inequality. Their emphasis on the visual world as one that reflects wealth and order is used here to justify denigrations of the blacks spaces of the city as well as black residents' own spatial practices (as we will see in the next chapter). We might think of these epistemologies as representing a Euclidean order- a well-defined set of spatial relationships, rather than a relative spatial order. By ignoring the race as a valid framework through which the city is experienced, whites in Lakeview symbolically undermine blacks' experiences in the city.

While Lakeview residents' mobility across the city is fluid (a point I return to in Chapters 6 and 7), because their spatial identities are bounded and non-relational, they use planning to control who is and who is not acceptable in their community and they make blacks' experience of the city invisible. We saw above that planners and local politicians condoned these views not only through planning tools such as zoning and land use reform, but also through distributive decisions such as road repair funding. What we see in Lakeview are socio-spatial epistemologies are not only white (and therefore not just reliant on class or economic privilege), but that they are also aligned with dominant approaches to land and urban development that value land for its exchange, rather than its use value.

Although I return to these points in my concluding chapters, here I want to add that it is critical to examine how these narratives and development approaches, such as those found in Lakeview and by planners ad policy makers' work in Lakeview, undermine a deeper discussion of racial inequality (and its entrenchment in space) by actually ignoring race and history. In doing so, they contribute to and perpetuate the types of racial inequality we easily find in all U.S cities. Perhaps most importantly, these approaches normalize a distributive approach that emphasizes individual contributions and property worth, contradictorily equating these with fairness.

My argument here is that this buffering and these depoliticized narratives not only create encapsulated spaces of wealth and white privilege, but they undermine blacks' memories and political territory. If we as planners use this lens for making distributive decisions – this contradictory lens of fair distribution and a depoliticized and ahistorical, non-relational lens, we will perpetuate redistributive measures toward those who already have secured economic and spatial privilege. Planners and policy makers who make decisions regarding the distribution of limited resources across the city should critically examine this viewpoint and consider how it not only perpetuates spatial inequality, but how it undermines blacks' responses to "their predicament in America" (Haymes, 1995, p. 27).

Chapter 6
The Heart of New Orleans

Introduction

> African American people are very geographical. (Treme activist)
>
> Treme is not the type of culture that gets onto the stage but is in the streets. (Treme resident)

Treme residents' narrative about their socio-spatial identity is heavily influenced by the neighborhood's history of racialized development, urban development patterns, and urban planning interventions. Despite denigration of their community - the onslaught that many community members and activists feel have worked to erode their neighborhood's spatial claims, black and Black Creole residents have found spaces through which their sense of community and identity are positively embedded into the neighborhood fabric. While Treme is described as the heart of New Orleans, it interestingly operates differently as such for different groups of people. It is the cultural heart of New Orleans, the home of jazz, the home of Creole cooking and the neighborhood of second lines and jazz funerals. For all of these reasons, it is a symbol of the uniqueness of New Orleans culture and well utilized to promote tourism. Yet Treme is also literally and figuratively the heart of New Orleans not only for its residents but for black activists as well, who see this neighborhood as their cultural and emotional home. For this group, the importance of Treme and the continuation of it as a historically black community is critical to their black socio-spatial identities and ways of life in New Orleans.

Despite being the *heart of New Orleans*, Treme residents' emplaced social-networks are undervalued in planning's over-emphasis on land development and the exchange value of land. This contradiction of recognizing Treme's culture as the heart of the city yet undermining its residents' land claims has been true historically and it is true again today as the neighborhood faces a new series of redevelopment proposals. In the following chapter, I discuss how Treme residents view this neighborhood as a "way of life" and the changes they have faced and do face from redevelopment. I then turn to a discussion about blacks' socio-spatial epistemologies as representing the duality of racial denigration and self-worth and my argument that race does in fact matter, despite what activists in Lakeview would lead you to believe.

Treme as a Way of Life

> It was always something happening in Treme – always something going on. (Treme resident)

Image 8: Mardi Gras Indians, Super Sunday

Source: Photo by the author

Treme is a neighborhood of sites, both past and present, that signify to residents how their identity is constituted by the relationship between place and its specific racial past. As discussed in Chapter 3, Treme is a dense neighborhood that emerged in late 18th century. Known as "back-a-town", Treme is the home to Black Creoles and Free People of Color. Music halls, bars, clubs, corner stores, and other black-owned businesses such as restaurants and funeral homes, break up Treme's density of homes built up to the street with small stoops for sitting and talking with neighbors. Residents describe Treme as a neighborhood "where everybody knew ya" and where there "was always something going on" because there were so many black places or "community strongholds" to go to. For Treme residents, their attachment is not only to these sites, but also to the emplaced

social networks and everyday life. Commenting that, "Treme is a way of life more than a place," one former black resident confirmed that Treme is about a psychology of social practices and a way of life that includes taking a half an hour to make it to the corner store to pick up some milk because you have to stop and talk to your neighbors. The familiarity and sense of security that these social habits provide are similar to the themes that we will see in the Lower Ninth Ward (Chapter 7) and here in Treme, they are the part of the vitality of the community and fundamental to how the community sees itself.

Image 9: Second Line in Treme

Source: Photo by the author.

Residents' memories of the community emphasized the significant changes brought about in the 1960s to Treme as a result of major planning interventions (Chapter 3). The construction of the I-10 overpass along Claiborne Avenue "killed Treme" and its historic black-owned business corridor. The construction of Louis Armstrong Park, an urban renewal project, removed not only a large portion of central Treme but contributed to the demise of the Orleans commercial corridor as well.[33] Not surprisingly perhaps, these planning interventions were motivated to benefit residents outside of Treme, by economic development aspirations, and by a successful *win* by French Quarter

[33] Orleans or Basin Street was also the site of Storyville, New Orleans' red light district until the early 20th century and where black musicians were allowed to play in white establishments.

and historic preservation activists to overcome proposals to site the I-10 overpass along the riverfront (Baumbach & Borah, 1981). Residents and activists in Treme connect this historical pattern of racialized development and deconstruction in Treme - which their community has suffered spatially, economically, and socially from, with their current concerns and fears about "history repeating itself" through continued gentrification and proposed planning projects such as the redevelopment of the Iberville housing project (Krupa, 2011). One local activist noted that Treme's problems and the black community had been ignored until there was a need to "use that area" for tourism and gentrification. Although these projects are discussed below, it is important to note here that activists' and residents' fears that future development will affect Treme's affordability and livability for current residents point to the essential vulnerability of low-income and minority neighborhoods. Their fears highlight the instability of their land claims within the capitalist approach to land development while their memories show these fears to be historically valid.

While residents and activists recall both the I-10 overpass and Armstrong Park as major projects that affected the economic and social health of their neighborhood, they are also likely to pair these recollections or memories with equally vivid ones about the social and cultural spaces that provide them a sense of racial dignity and freedom. And although Treme currently has fewer black-owned businesses and local bars (in part because of the I-10 overpass decimated the historical black business core), the memories of these places live on in the present memory of current Treme residents and activists. Residents in talking about the Candlelight Inn as a hub for current brass bands and musicians are likely to recall past bars or "kick 'em up and start 'em places" such as Joe's Cozy Corner, Berthas, and Caldonia's in the same sentence. In interviews, residents recalled the past black-owned bars, music halls, local stores, barbershops, etc. that once lined the main streets of Treme. Treme residents' socio-spatial identity is thus informed by both present (continue to exist) and past (live on in residents' memories) sites, emphasizing the persistent power of history as shaping the present mind and sense of place in this historically black Creole neighborhood. Further, Treme residents and activists consider both the past and present sites as critical to their musical and cultural heritage and their living culture because they provide the "social infrastructure" that keeps traditional forms of brass band and local music alive (Swenson, 2011, pp. 120-121).

Yet in their memories of place and construction of their socio-spatial identities, residents link the past with the present also to point out how their place in the city has both suffered because of

racism and how they have dealt with this issue over time. Therefore, the *presence of the past* in residents' present narratives should also be seen as an act of survival – one in which residents recall not only the importance of past denigrations of their urban geography, but also one in which residents recall the places and sites of refuge and cultural/racial meaning. This is an example of blacks' understanding of the duality of space or what Du Bois calls "double consciousness" (Du Bois, 1994), a point I return to below.

Consistent across interviews, Treme residents and activists emphasized the spaces of stoops and the practices of "stoop sitting" as critical to the neighborhood's sense of place and their spatial practices. Blacks are "rooted in these areas," said on activist. The stoop is a physical space where one can watch what is going on in the neighborhood and a social place where residents talk with neighbors or people passing by. One resident noted that growing up, he could not get away with anything because his great-grandparents, grandparents, aunts, and family friends all lived within black of each other and would sit on their stoops or porches and watch over what he was up to. As we will see in the Lower Ninth Ward, stoops therefore function as critical places where residents' build their sense of community and connection with the neighborhood. While, as the above resident noted, they also function as "eyes on the street" (Jacobs, 1961), where family and neighbors look out for one another and for younger residents in the community, they also show how residents in this community *use* space to meet their social needs. Comparatively, white residents in Lakeview do not use these semi-public spaces to locate their social lives, as we saw in Chapter 5. While the difference could be seen as one of spatial semantics – differences in where different communities and different people spend their social time, the consistency we see here and that we will see in the Lower Ninth Ward compared with Lakeview represents different ways of *using* space to meet the social needs of non-dominant groups. I will return to this point later in this chapter, but for now I want to emphasize that the spaces such as stoops and black businesses provide tangible social benefits to the black community and that blacks' spatial practices make use of these spaces no matter, as we will see, how denigrated they are to the dominant development gaze.

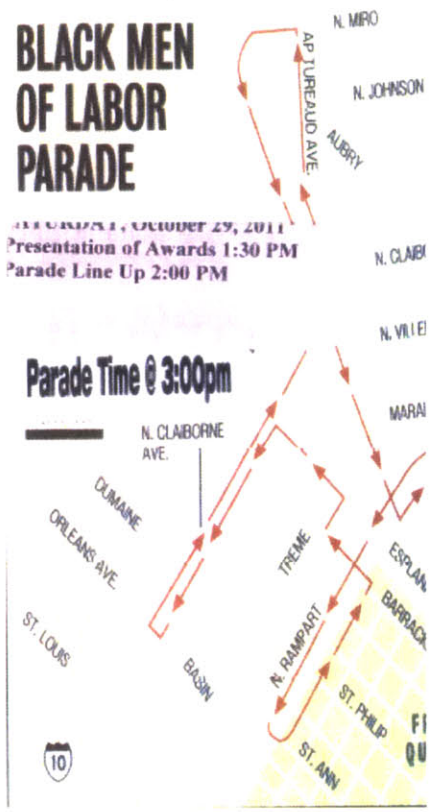
In addition to providing tangible social benefits, space or more specifically, emplaced community networks provide economic benefits as well. For instance, a mix of local businesses were critical for blacks because most couldn't afford to own cars and they could therefore meet their material needs within walking distance. The wife of a local Mardi Gras Indian noted that each year they would

recycle the beads from the Indian costumes in order to save money and this was one of the ways that they made do with less economically. Many older residents recall the history of truck farming and small plot farming that was prevalent in Treme while they were growing up. One older black resident noted that he remembered hearing the truck farmers coming through the streets of Treme - their music and the farmers' shouting out, 'I got bananas, I got okra.' These themes, similar though less prevalent to ones found in the Lower Ninth Ward, reveal an economic reliance on and connection to the land, one that is steeped in the roots of racialized economic difference. One black activist noted that their spatial practices emerged from the fact that poor blacks have always had to make do with less and get along with less and therefore they have to become very resourceful within the system. Their emplaced networks helped them survive economically and culturally. 'This makes sense because I know how to survive in a town where I come from – it is far tougher in another city where I was displaced," explained one activist. While it is not surprising that in Treme this narrative is less prevalent than in the Lower Nine, given the community's history as Free People of Color who were able to own their own businesses and property and therefore earn money outside of farming, it is important to connect the ways in which blacks in both neighborhoods in this study understand how their economic well-being is connected to emplaced social and family networks. This is a different narrative that the one we saw in Lakeview, where residents emphasized the exchange value of property, as here we see a focus on the use value of land, on its social and historical meaning and value. As I will argue again in my discussion about the Lower Ninth Ward, the black community's emplacement here has tangible social and economic benefits.

While in Treme the psychology of ownership is important, it extends beyond homeownership to black owned businesses. As noted above, black spaces have played an important role in Treme and psychologically the ability to "dress up" and socialize promoted a sense of pride and self-worth for residents (Kelley, 1994). The legacy of these places and the scattering of current sites (including Candlelight Inn, Lil' Dizzys, etc.) continue to instill pride in black residents because they can point the continued "living culture" of brass bands, social and pleasure clubs, food, and second lines as being a unique part of their heritage as a neighborhood and as black community. For one black activist, the legacy of the social aid and pleasure clubs provides "dignity and discipline" and a preservation of the historical traditions of brass band music. For instance, the Black Men of Labor, a local social aid and pleasure Club, are explicit about focusing on 1) traditional forms of brass music and 2) keeping the music in the streets. However, this focus comes down to important

details like maintaining the traditional formal dress of brass bands (traditional black and white uniform) and by members honoring their African roots by wearing traditional Senegalese fabric in order to preserve the dignity of the music and the band and preserve their historical ties as African slaves, while also presenting themselves and identifying themselves as having dignity to the wider community. One organizer noted that their work as a Social Aid and Pleasure Club was in part to recognize that former black organizers and activists had been "knowledgeable and brave enough" to try to create change in the black community. For one of the founders of this organization, it is about ensuring that outsiders view them with integrity and about preventing the city and outsiders from identifying them negatively. "Your not going to identify us like that...You can't put us all in the same box," explained one activist.

Image 10: Black Men of Labor, Parade Route, 2012



Source: Black Men of Labor

Image 11: Black Men of Labor Parade, 2012

Source: Photo by the author

While one Treme resident noted, "there was a very strong relationship between the community and its bars," Treme's neighborhood boundaries are also incredibly important to the community's perception of its socio-spatial identity – and these have been shaped and dismantled by urban planning's action and inaction throughout Treme's past. Treme's territory has suffered because it is

undervalued by dominant development ideologies such as capitalism that seek the highest economic gain from land and devalue land's psychological, political, and social value and by the city's profit-driven approach to urban development (Self, 2008). More recent efforts and emphasis on preserving the boundaries of historic Treme by local activists indicate that its boundaries have become increasingly salient to both residents and activists. Again, this emphasis has both historical and current roots. Because it was both a self-sustaining Creole neighborhood and because issues of race were always *spatially bounded*, Treme itself operated throughout times of slavery and segregation to transform the experience of racial segregation and provide a context where cultural expression and social relationships were allowed and celebrated. While the history of segregation and racial differentiation (in terms of Creole and Black) have technically passed, they live on in the way that residents identify their geographically bound neighborhood as both a spatial and social sanctuary from the brutality (both mental and physical) of racism and domination and a *place* where their racial identity is celebrated, rather than denigrated.[34]

This process of boundary protection should be seen simultaneously as spatial work, but also as emotional or psychological work as residents and activists are working to maintain, if not restore, their spatial territory as well as their emotional well-being or their positive socio-spatial identities. Treme residents' narratives are bounded by racialized histories and perceptions. While the awareness of and preservation of boundaries, particularly the historic boundaries of Treme, is far more informed by urban development and planning interventions in this community, these boundaries, to this day, draw on emplaced racial histories. In Treme this issue is complicated because so many Treme residents who moved to the East to the 'land of swimming pools' are still active in the Treme neighborhood. These activists connect their family history to Treme and serve on the boards of various Treme organizations to preserve the neighborhood's cultural and racial history. These activists fight for the geography of Treme – and its socio-spatial identity as a neighborhood, even though they do not live there – again indicating that race has prevalence over class in terms of constructing socio-spatial identities. Additionally, this indicates that socio-spatial identities can be constructed within multiple geographies within one feels comfortable, but that race is a primary indicator for constructing this comfort level. In this we might think of this work as a way that residents are protecting the community's identity and the benefits that they gather from

[34] Creole language has traditionally played a part in creating this boundary. However, to a large extent, more analysis regarding many of these differences, including language, was out of the scope of this dissertation. Personal Communication, Phil Thompson, December 20, 2011.

this identity. As I will discuss below, this work is critical to blacks' double consciousness (Du Bois, 1994).

As we will see in the Lower Nine, Treme residents note that their community building work since Katrina is also political because it is a literal fight to survive and be represented in the city. In Treme, activism focuses on preserving the historic boundaries, preventing developers from having free reign in Treme, and on preserving their "living culture." For Treme residents and activists this work is political because it raises questions about distribution and racism within a democracy. It also raises questions about the worth of a community within a capitalist development framework. Activism in Treme often is practiced spatially in street parades or second lines that focus on race and racial heritage, but it also is practiced when these social aid and pleasure clubs shift their focus to organizing and more traditional forms of planning engagement. In both Treme and the Lower Nine, political engagement is strategically differentiated over time, meaning that groups are highly cognizant of 'battles being won but the war not being over,' and therefore they use their emplaced history to galvanize continued resistance and activism.

While it should be noted that the larger boundaries have political repercussions, the mental routines of segregation do not disintegrate once the laws themselves are no longer legally upheld.[35] The issue of neighborhood boundaries and their importance to Treme residents reveals how salient the issue of territoriality is for blacks and how little this issue is understood by planners (McKittrick & Woods, 2007). Activists' emphasis on the historical boundaries of Treme should be seen in light of their response to protecting their place in the city in the wake of planning's deconstruction of their neighborhood, but also in light of their struggle for space itself. In this sense, blacks and Creoles in Treme view space as constituting what it means to be black, or in the case of Treme, what it means to be Black Creole. Operating at the larger scale, the neighborhood here is a "safe zone" or "spiritual home"[36] where residents can challenge the meaning of segregation and its socio-spatial impacts. The neighborhood functions as a safe haven where refuge is sought and a re-conceptualization of socio-spatial identities are constituted. Residents in Treme do the work of resistance and re-conceptualization through not only through fighting for the neighborhood and its historical boundaries, but also through a non-denigrated mental map of the neighborhood itself. Alongside residents' narrative about the undercurrent of deconstruction and devastation in Treme

[35] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011
[36] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011

is one of reclamation and continued vibrancy and resilience. Thus, Treme residents' socio-spatial identity is constituted both by processes of deconstruction and disinvestment AND processes of reclamation and spatial practice - both of which are closely linked to the geographic specificity of the neighborhood, its present and past sites, its boundaries, and its racial history (Berman, 1988). The sites and places of Treme, both historical and current, and the socio-spatial practices are more than the backdrop for these mental struggles against internalizing segregation, they are they means through which non-denigrated view of self and racial classification occur.

Compared with residents interviewed in Lakeview, Treme activists' interviewed emphasized the importance and salience of this black community over individualized approaches to redevelopment. Since black residents who trace their black heritage to this community but do not live there do so much of the community work in Treme, these activists are elevating their racial community over more individualized or class-based narratives. Their narratives reflect their emphasis on the importance of this place as a racially defined and experienced community and one in which their survival is linked to this community's survival. While the threats to Treme's spatial claims in the city could result in drastic demographic change (see below), these threats are different than the threats voiced by residents in Lakeview because Treme residents can connect their fears to potential political and social losses.

For black residents in Treme, "a way of life" goes beyond consumption and property value and expresses residents' desire to socially and emotionally connect with one another and it is a form of inclusion, acceptance, and being valued. "A way of life" also represents residents' understanding of the value they get from social practices that use space – practices such as stoop sitting, second lining, and masking – to substantiate their own survival, freedom and strategies of resistance.

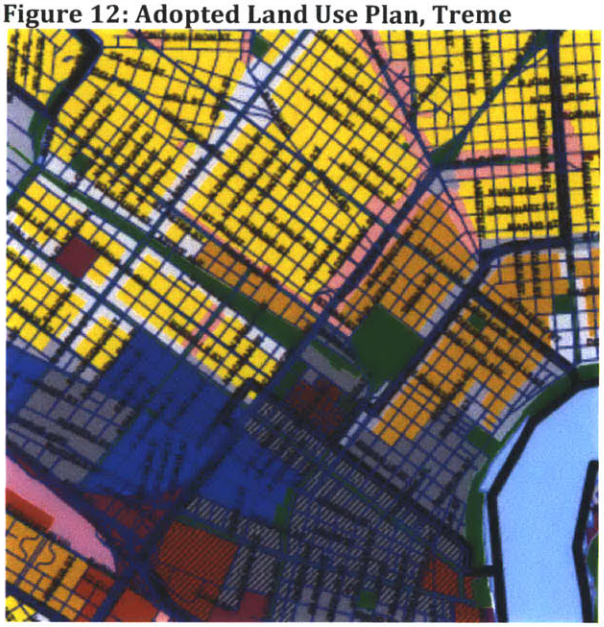
The Future Treme – or Planning's Evisceration of the Heart of New Orleans

> 'Planning creates what should happen rather than talk with people about their quality of life,' Treme activist.

Treme has continually battled major projects that erode the neighborhoods' boundaries and endanger residents' emplaced cultural and spatial practices and spaces and threaten the vitality of this neighborhood as a black community stronghold. Redevelopment projects in the 1960s and 70s, including the I-10 expressway and Armstrong Park decimated the black business core and demolished a large residential area. Since then, Treme has slowly faced gentrification – spill over

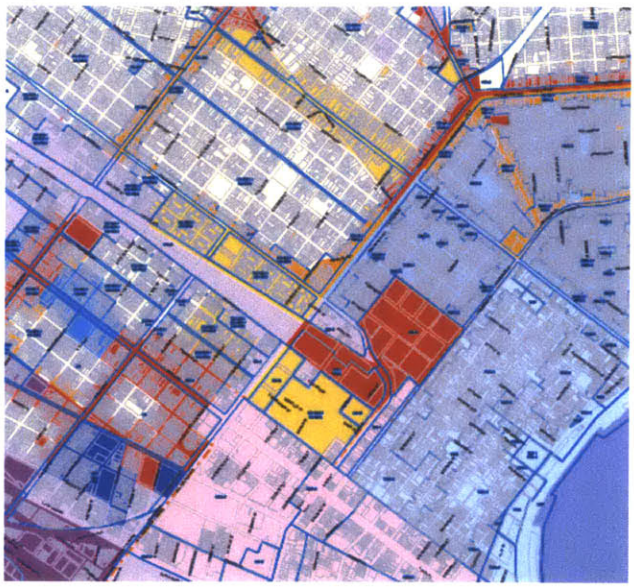
from the French Quarter and Marigny neighborhoods. I argued above that these historical trends are fresh in the minds of local residents and activists who see post-Katrina trends as not only continuing a historical trend or undermining their spatial claims, but also a ramping up of these potential threats.

Figure 12: Adopted Land Use Plan, Treme



Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

Figure 13: Proposed CZO, Treme



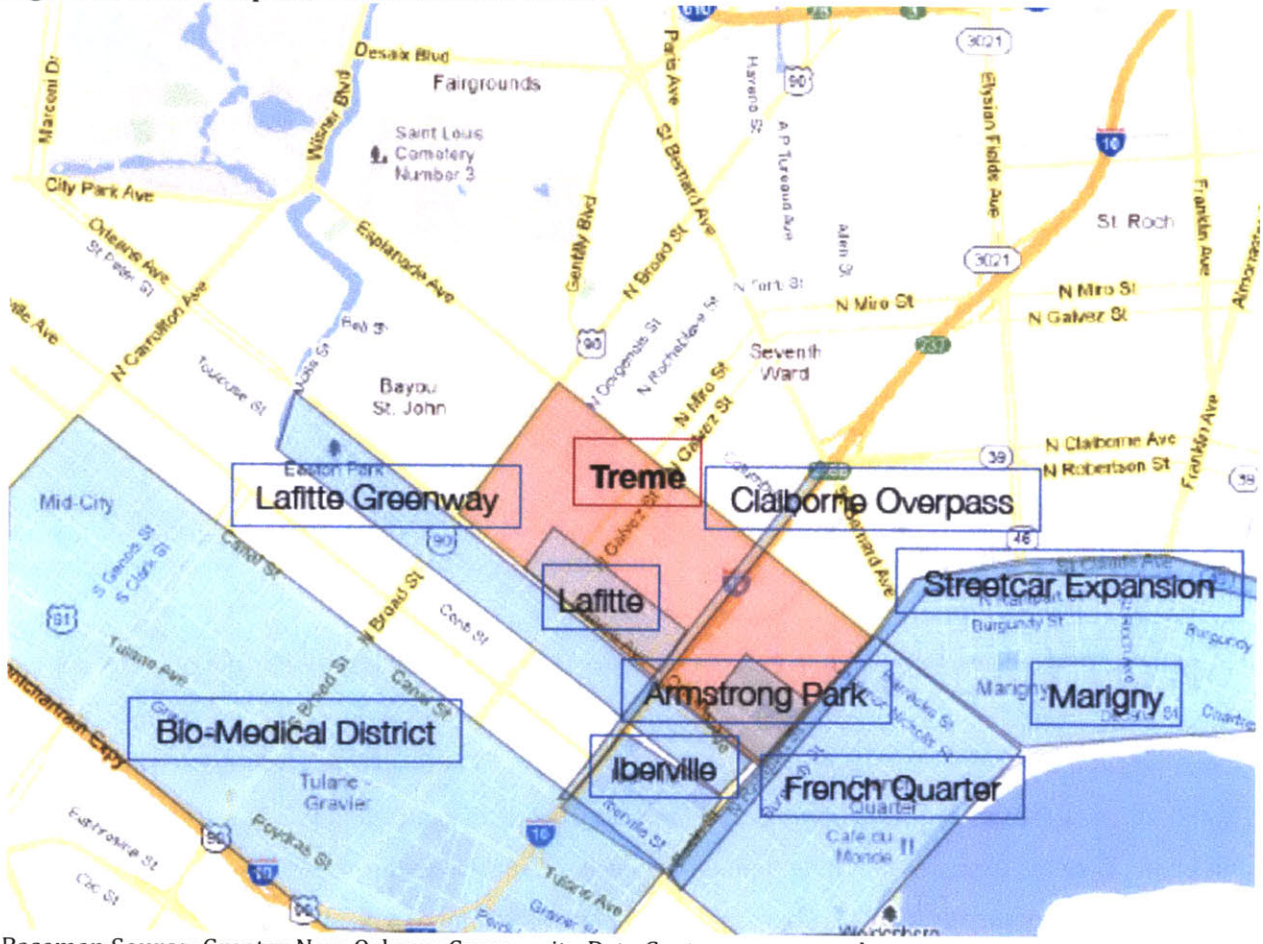
Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

These historical patterns of urban development are often mistakenly ignored as playing an active role in how residents view or understand their place in the city and their own connection to place. Also undervalued are the deep connections that minority residents, in this case black residents, form to a specific territory in the city. In fact, because this discussion is all to often framed as land and economic development and not framed by its use or cultural value, these types of connections to place are undermined by most development schemes. Further, as I argued in Chapter 5 and return to below, because land development approaches overwhelmingly ignore race, the history of racial oppression and continued systemic racism as contributing factors to spatial inequality, these communities are, as correctly diagnosed by Treme residents and activists, inherently vulnerable. Certainly, as we will see below, the potential future of Treme is being framed in light of its economic potential and it is entirely possible that this community's spatial claims will be eroded by the current and proposed redevelopment of the neighborhood and its adjacent land.

Although Treme did not endure the extensive flooding seen in Lakeview or the Lower Nine during Katrina, the neighborhood is arguably more vulnerable now to redevelopment tan it has ever been

in the past, as one activist noted in the above quote about Treme now being land that planners and local politicians *need to use*. Treme residents feel that because they are located on higher ground and had faced gentrification prior to Katrina, their neighborhood is now prime territory for further gentrification and urban development projects that, in bringing economic and major development to Treme and the city, would displace existing low-income black residents.

Figure 14: Redevelopment In and Around Treme



Basemap Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, www.gnocdc.org

Treme residents are right to fear the future of their community as there are a significant number of current and proposed development projects that stand to affect the affordability of Treme and thus the geographical tenure for its current black and low-income residents. Planners, local politicians, different city agencies, and different activist groups are in fact working to redevelop the Treme neighborhood as an idealized and prosperous community and have rationalized that these development projects will benefit Treme residents (Figures 12-14, Appendices F and G). Looking at this image, one can easily see that with the redevelopment of the Iberville and Lafitte public housing projects, the bio-medical district, the Lafitte Greenway, the potential removal of the I-10

corridor, and the extension of the streetcar along Rampart, not to mention continued gentrification pressures, Treme faces tremendous changes in its future. However, since these projects are all organized and championed by different agents and agencies – there seems to be little concern at the city level for the future of this historical black core. One activist commented that the "glaring" disparities that were visible before the storm had been ignored until politicians needed to use Treme for redevelopment and therefore tout these projects as revitalizing the neighborhood. For instance, while the "rebirth" of Canal Street through the redevelopment of the Iberville public housing project as a mixed-use and mixed-income project threatens the affordability of the neighborhood (HANO, 2011; Krupa, 2011), it is couched as the "rebirth" of the neighborhood and a chance to "transform lives and revitalize one of the greatest neighborhoods in the country" (HANO, 2011).[37] Treme residents and activists question whether or not these two goals can be simultaneously achieved through the current proposals, which build upon historical approaches to redevelopment, such as HOPE VI (HANO, 2011) and idealized development patterns that will not necessarily bring economic benefits to this community.

Treme activists are concerned that the long-term repercussions of this redevelopment project are not fully factored into the current proposal and that ultimately, this project, with other current and proposed projects adjacent to or in Treme, will ultimately price many residents out. For the Bio-Medical District, the Black Men of Labor have been included in the organizing process. Although some local (white) planners note that this appointment was a form of tokenism and even complained that this organization was not suited to do the job of community outreach, one representative from the Black Men of Labor commented that they wanted to be included to ensure that "developers can't just do what they want" and that they would organize the old way, by going "door to door to inform people" and to "demystify the process". Although a full analysis of these organizing differences is out of the scope of this dissertation, it is interesting that local planners do not recognize that the political activism, organizing history, and community outreach history of Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs such as the Black Men of Labor prepares them for the type of community outreach planning supposedly supports and advocates for, indicating a large divide between anticipated outcomes and intentions between these groups. It should be noted that in their

[37] Although the Iberville project does not represent as substantial a loss of current resident units as many other public housing redevelopment projects have for New Orleans residents, it is still a revitalization project aimed simultaneously at revitalizing a distressed community and renovating a major economic corridor in the city (HANO, 2011) without ensuring that the current community will benefit.

attempts to "demystify the process" the Black Men of Labor are, in fact, trying to bridge the subsidize the community's knowledge of what planners are doing on their behalf.

While the inclusion of the Black Men of Labor in the community organizing aspect of this project will potentially serve to align more direct benefits to local residents[38], residents and different activist groups have had to demand inclusion in the planning of the Lafitte Greenway project and the redevelopment of the Claiborne corridor. Despite planning's ontological and practical emphasis on participation and inclusion, much planning happens without consideration or even basic inclusion of local groups, and therefore residents fear that something like the planned removal of the I-10 overpass will only serve to decimate their neighborhood once again by removing the spaces they have reclaimed and by promoting development that does not benefit local business owners along this reclaimed corridor. One activist noted that there was a need for housing and other community needs in Treme, but that the 'poor people who stayed through the monstrosity of the last 30 years' would be displaced because of rising property values and that this was an attempt to remove the "indigent people". There are a lot of assumptions regarding the benefits to the black community that underlie the planning work for the I-10 overpass, assumptions that are greatly untested. Residents in both Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward correctly define much of participation as tokenism, even in a city that has seen years of participation on multiple planning processes.

Figure 15: Bio-Medical District, Proposed Plan, New Orleans

Source: BioDistrict New Orleans, www.biodistrictneworleans.org

[38] An analysis of the inclusion of the Black Men of Labor as the community outreach arm of this redevelopment project was out of the scope of this dissertation and will be researched in future research.

Figure 16: Lafitte Public Housing Redevelopment

Source: Providence Community Housing, www.providencecommunityhousing.org

Together, the Iberville and Lafitte redevelopments, the bio-medical complex development, and the renovation of Armstrong Park, and the transportation projects all stand to remake the physical and cultural fabric of this neighborhood by elevating economic development and idealized physical development patterns. The development plans for the medical complex are more suburban in style than urban with large parking lots and a loss of historical density (Figure 15). The redevelopment of Lafitte at least reflects the dense development patterns present in historical Treme and therefore allows residents to use spaces such as porches and stoops to gather and socialize (Figure 16). Renovations in Armstrong Park will not incorporate increased access for Treme residents, as the park remains fenced off to the Treme neighborhood and open only to the French Quarter. The redevelopment styles of these projects are important because so much of residents' socio-spatial identities are derived from the urban development patterns represented in this black community.

Much of the work in Treme goes toward combating the proposed planning developments that residents feel will erode their (literal and symbolic) place in the city and repeat historical patterns. Beyond this Treme residents and activists are also working toward positive reflections of their

socio-spatial identities in space. In interviews, residents and activists in Treme were most concerned with their ability to use space to emplace and protect their living culture and ensure continued affordability for long-time and low-income black residents. Residents' narratives that emphasize the cultural and racial experiences and meaning of their neighborhood are reflective in their concern for maintaining a mix of residential and commercial spaces, including the critical black spaces such as neighborhood bars, corner groceries, and restaurants. Starting before Katrina, residents and activists have worked to restore community and historical places such as the New Orleans African American Museum (known for its focus on Treme's history and the history of Free People of Color in New Orleans), to build new cultural places such as the Backstreet Cultural Museum (which houses Mardi Gras Indian costumes and other historical photographs and archives from Treme), and to support (despite contestation) local bars and music clubs.

Residents and activists are trying to demand that the city acknowledges their history and culture as being part of the heart of the city and that the community has historically not benefited from planning and development projects. Noting the contrast between the Mayor stating that "the Treme community plays a vital role in the city's heritage and cultural identity" (HANO, 2011) and the continued lack of progress to ensure Treme's affordability, Treme activists noted that there continues to be a concerted lack of understanding about the long-term effects of community redevelopment proposals. Demanding involvement in both the process and outcomes is only the first step in ensuring that current residents will benefit from future development in their neighborhood and be protected from being priced out by rising property values. As noted above, the recent inclusion of the Black Men of Labor in the development process for the Iberville redevelopment process is merely the first step for local activists to begin to shift how the planning and development conversation happens and what the outcomes are.

Treme residents and activists interviewed noted that their community work was increasingly critical, particularly in the wake of HBO's television series Treme and a continued focus by the city on black culture to drive tourism and economic development for the city. One resident noted that the HBO series Treme would only further gentrification. Increased calls by activists, social aid and pleasure clubs, musicians, and Mardi Gras Indian tribes have also focused on the contradiction between the city's reliance on their culture for tourism and economic development and the lack of support and economic advancement that they receive in turn. Residents and activists therefore use their narratives to diagnose the underlying tensions and contradictions between how black culture

is used for profit and development (benefitting the city) and how it is denigrated when it comes to redirecting outcomes to benefit these same communities and residents. Further, Treme residents and activists commented that within the continued gentrification of their neighborhood, there are no plans in place to protect residents from being priced out of the neighborhood. They note that while the development and gentrification of their neighborhood draws on their way of life and cultural meanings, it would work to displace these ways of life. These contradictions are, for black residents and activists, fundamental to their diagnosis of the persistent devaluation of black spaces and reveal how racism is perpetuated in space today. When considered in light of white residents' denigration of black communities for receiving governmental support (or handouts as they are called by many white residents in Lakeview), blacks' are also blamed for these emplaced inequalities. One activist noted that the system chastises and alienates blacks, telling them to "mind their manners" in a contradictory system that he called "white fuckery". Further, by using black culture to benefit the city and not black residents themselves, planning and development perpetuate a development framework by which racial inequality is maintained. Black residents are challenging this framework by elevating their racial experiences and worldviews and by exposing and diagnosing the contradictions – and therefore they are justifying their own demands for a space in the city.[39]

In Treme, many residents interviewed focused on how new white residents' potentially endanger a way of life and emplaced culture and threaten current and long-time residents' ability to continue to live in Treme. Similar to the Lower Ninth Ward, this narrative draws on historical struggles over space and emphasizes residents' unique racial and historical culture within the context of New Orleans. This culture and way of life are emplaced into the black bars and music halls, the stoops and porches, the museums and cultural spaces, and the local restaurants and corner stores and residents' and activists' narratives reflect the self-worth and pride they have developed in these spaces and from their spatial practices. This is however also a discussion that extends beyond the physicality of space and into society's cultural norms. Beyond the physical spaces, Treme residents and activists are intent upon community development work that will ensure their ability to spatially practice their culture in the streets as they have done for generations (Regis, 1999). Additionally, Treme residents are using their narratives about their cultural meaning and practices to push back against the new bureaucratic norms limiting their spatial practices such as second lines and parades.

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[39] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, December 29, 2011

It is within Treme's emplaced social practices like second lines and its black community strongholds such as Candlelight Inn where the growing tensions between long-time black residents and newer white residents have really started to surface or where the "rumblings" are in the community (Reckdahl, 2007, 2011; Swenson, 2011). Long-term residents and activists feel that new residents don't understand their way of life or why their traditions are so important to their sense of cultural and personal survival. They interpret complaints about the noise, large gatherings, and perceptions of crime made by newer and often white residents as a direct threat the very things that they take pride in and build their identity around. Commenting that these new changes brought about by white gentrification and noise ordinance have 'shut down the bars', made Treme 'more residential', and are "cleaning things out" and 'restricting the flow of music on the street'. "Culture emanated from the barrooms, now people don't want bars," commented on resident. The nuisance laws go two ways, said one activist, and show "two different mindsets". Another long-time resident reflected that the noise ordinances were like "people who buy beachfront homes and then decide they don't like the sand or the water...they call the police if the second line is too loud". The fact that these new residents have been able to begun to re-shape these second lines by increased police presence, requirements for permitting, and constraints on the food trucks that follow and set up their stands for second lines means that what once were community norms are being challenged by new bureaucratic norms and economic expectations, limiting the capacity of these second lines to roam freely and through the streets of the neighborhood (Reckdahl, 2007, 2011). This is one example of how black residents view the continuation of threats to their spaces of survival and resistance to dominant norms about behavior and cultural practices. Planning's failure to articulate a plan for protecting local residents from gentrification exemplifies how residents' and activists' psychological attachment and their socio-spatial identities are devalued or made invisible by a capitalist development framework. The fact that these socially emplaced practices can be reshaped only emphasizes the continuation of the threats that black residents feel to their socio-spatial identities.

As we will see in the Lower Ninth Ward, residents and activists in Treme are calling on planners, developers, and city officials to change the practice of community development not only toward increased inclusion and open-mindedness about their communities, but also in terms of requiring development to benefit local residents in its economic and spatial outcomes. As such, they are asking – through their narratives and activism- that planners change their approach to community

development, to analyze the implications of different projects, and to structure redevelopment so that it benefits – both in the short and long-term- local residents that have traditionally lived in these communities. In short, they are asking planners to develop different tools – both in terms of process and analysis – to improve their community.

Whereas the threats in the Lower Ninth Ward are about being ignored and about not being redeveloped at all, both Treme and the Lower Nine communities, as we will see, feel threatened "on all fronts" by planning's action or inaction. While these types of psychological and geographical threats are undervalued in planning practice and theory, the ways of viewing the world and of orienting oneself in the world that are prevalent in these two communities means that much more than a home is at stake when residents' sense of security in the world in threatened – what is at stake is a way of life, history, and a way of valuing oneself in the city which has and continued to denigrate you.

As discussed above, the mix of uses, the historical black spaces, and the stoops and porches are where this black community has constructed their memories and narratives of self-worth. A loss of density and social spaces, as well as access to the streets "marginalizes the popular stories, narratives, and memories of black place making, of black life in the city" (Haymes, 1995, p. 125) and erodes the positive socio-spatial identities residents and activists have constructed and emplaced in this neighborhood. Treme residents and activists diagnose their geographic insecurity or their vulnerability because of their status as a low-income black community. Further, they feel that they must validate their place in the city and challenge dominant planning practices and spatial orders that would displace their way of life. Together, the erosion of their emplaced spatial/cultural practices and the threats to their neighborhood's affordability present current residents with a substantial threat of being displaced or deterritorialized (Haymes, 1995). The failure of planners to protect this community from gentrification represents what Haymes (1995) notes as the symbolic reconstruction of place to fit white idealized notions of place. Racist metaphors that highlight the violence of black communities provide "white urban political and economic elites and urban policy makers with an ideological alibi to dismantle black settlements and replace them with mainly white 'gentrified' neighborhoods. Also implicit...is a particular notion of place that appeals to white racial superiority. It is the symbolic construction of 'white places' as civilized, rational, and orderly and 'black places' as uncivilized, irrational, and disorderly" (Haymes, 1995, pp. 20-21).

Much of the literature on gentrification is not presented as having such strongly racialized implications and instead focuses on more generic discussions of displacement and the assumed benefits of increased property values and economic diversity/prosperity (Freeman, 2006). Importantly, planning condones gentrification for its promised economic development and idealizes and rationalizes the benefits as being distributed to current residents, even if they are displaced. While this distributional model seems to pervade planning, its over-emphasis on economic gains for the city is at odds with direct distributive measures that might be taken to ensure or protect minority and low-income communities. Whereas we saw in Lakeview a contradictory validation of distribution – one which hinged on "equal" distribution but awarded a fair share based on economic contributions to the city's tax base, we might find an entirely different understanding of fair distribution in Treme. Treme residents would likely define *fair* distribution as one that took into account the historical inequities that they have faced as a black community and one that took into account their cultural contributions to the city. As one black activist in Treme noted, these development epistemologies are about 'two different mind sets...one about culture and one about property values.'

These differences are perhaps normative questions, but they do raise legitimate questions about the role of planners and policy makers in these communities and the distributive decisions they make. Further, if we understand Lakeview's definition of fairness to be the dominant one, as I argue in this dissertation, then we should consider that these non-dominant definitions of fairness might contribute to a more equitable public sphere and lessen the historical and present burden of racial inequality. However, since, as my research in Treme shows, as we will see in the Lower Ninth Ward and as Haymes argues, "cultural identity is associated with and organized around territory, dismantling disrupts black identify formation by destroying the material basis of the black public sphere" (1995, p. 125), gentrification has far greater social, psychological and political repercussions for blacks than is commonly recognized in planning. The issue of territory is therefore central to the work of equity building and I return to this discussion in my concluding chapters.

Why It <u>Is</u> About Race

As we saw in Chapter 5, Lakeview residents carefully construct a narrative that not only almost exclusively ignores race, but that also undermines the types of spatially based racial claims made by residents in neighborhoods such as Treme. And while Lakeview residents focus on the economic

value of land and class elitism, I argued that their framing of urban development issues cannot be disentangled from race and emplaced racial inequality. Here and in the next chapter, I want to argue how urban development has everything to do with race and racial inequality.

Treme residents' narratives overwhelmingly emphasize race as a contributing factor to how the city is (or is not) shaped. Although some residents recall the original development of Treme from a plantation and brickyard to a dense urban neighborhood, this is done so through the lens of Treme's racial history rather than its history as an urban landscape. Current black residents who did not *live* the history of Treme as a plantation, as a site of slave congregation, or as a neighborhood for Free People of Color still point out the importance of these sites to the neighborhood's racial landscape.

Although perhaps less pronounced than in the past, the legacy of Creole families is incredibly strong in how Treme residents value their community and this past racial hierarchy is still sometimes felt and expressed at a personal level. Here, both current residents and activists note the importance of their ancestral connections to Free People of Color and Creoles, again stressing the idea of emplaced family networks in Treme. Similar to the Lower Nine, familial ties share resources and skills and help one another with rebuilding each other's homes. However, Treme is different than the Lower Ninth Ward because while many Treme activists trace their history back to the neighborhood they no longer live there. Interestingly then, the history and psychological benefits of this history benefit not only current residents, but activists and residents who trace their ancestral lines back to this place in the city and with blacks who identify with the meaning of Treme for African-Americans. Treme has symbolic value for residents and activists because it literally represented a free space in a city of racial oppression and for Black Creoles, this free space brought about economic, spatial, cultural, and psychological benefits and a positive racial identity.

Beyond Black Creole heritage, Treme residents and activists interviewed commented on the importance of historical figures, including those who fought for Civil Rights, those who have organized the community's social aid and pleasure clubs, and the local musicians, artists and craftsmen who were "knowledgeable and brave enough" to make real economic and social changes for black folks in the city and in Treme. Residents' and activists' perception of their neighborhood and their people as the *heart of the city* means that even though their neighborhood has been

denigrated and eroded by planning and capitalistic development, they perceive themselves to have worth and value beyond economic and property value.

Although the emphasis is perhaps different, urban land, for both blacks and Creoles, is *used* to deal with racial economic marginalization as well as to symbolically construct meaning and value. In Treme, residents' narratives emphasize this symbolism through the lens of race. Drawing on their landscape as a place of being free, Treme residents note that despite the historical denigration of blacks, they experienced freedom literally, but also spatially, as a community. These freedoms included not only the extensive network of black-owned places such as bars, music halls, and restaurants, as discussed above, but also the more symbolic understanding of their neighborhood as being one where residents' racial identity was both protected from denigration and celebrated. Residents and activists commonly linked historical spaces such as Congo Square with more recent black spaces such as music halls and bars with the survival of and celebration of non-white cultural practices and the preservation of their African and Haitian roots. The literature confirms this symbolic importance of Treme as a racial landscape through discussions of the importance of these spaces, the acceptance of Creole language, and the preservation and practice of its living culture through second line parading (Crutcher, 2006a, 2006b; Hirsch & Logsdon, 1992; Regis, 2001).

As we will see in the Lower Ninth Ward, history in Treme is a critical element of the psychological benefits that a racialized place provides, although the dynamic varies from that of the Lower Nine because of the historical separation between blacks and Creoles in New Orleans. However, the same themes of *freedom, survival* and *place* become closely entangled in Treme, as they do in the Lower Nine. Residents and activists in Treme view landscape through a historical racial lens. For instance, residents commented that the loss of green spaces and the trees on Claiborne have wounded them as a community historically and that the community "continues to suffer from this loss." However and as discussed below, residents in reclaiming these spaces use space to challenge this suffering and create their own valued spaces, thus creating their own literal and figurative sense of survival and freedom. Residents' narratives link specific places in the neighborhood with their preservation of non-dominant social and cultural practices and this operates as a symbolic narrative about the larger racial landscape and their ability to conceive of their own cultural freedom within oppression. Residents fears about change are specifically fears about losing their culture and their way of life – they are fears about "being unappreciated" one resident commented. Treme was literally and is

symbolically a space of freedom and beyond the scale of specific locations, the larger geography was a critical black free space amidst a sea of racial brutality and a sea of denigrated black spaces.

As discussed above, blacks' memories of the past are not invalid given the new threats they face as a community. While one resident notes that, 'white people can now come to the Candlelight Inn because they are not scared of black folk anymore,' the sense of "being discovered" as a neighborhood means that black residents feel that their psychological and geographical security are at stake. Whites have decided, "that black people aren't going to bite and they don't have tails," this resident commented. As in the Lower Nine, the psychological benefits that community provides Treme residents and activists are spatially emplaced into this specific geography and a threat to these ways of life threatens this pride and sense of self-worth. Displacement would challenge their "dignity and discipline" as a black community.

One activist in Treme frames the continual racial inequalities and vulnerability that blacks face in Treme as a fight between "the haves and the have nots". In reality, these threats are, and have always been, a threat to their way of life – one that has been cultivated over a long history of racial oppression and resistance.[40] Blacks, in this case Black Creoles, have cultivated their identity to have spatial, psychological, economic, and political dimensions – all of which are emplaced in the history and living culture of this neighborhood. Beyond resentment towards whites who do not understand, empathize, or value their racial experiences and realities (a critical point for planners to understand), blacks' socio-spatial identities counter white and normalized conceptions of space as being void of racial meaning. Their sense of psychological attachment is deeply rooted in their emplaced heritage, their work to resist dominance and to remember their roots, and their spatially practiced culture and *all* facets of these ways of being in the world are raced.

For many activists and residents in Treme, the gentrification in Treme illuminates the different ways of rooting down in a community and different values about community meaning. For blacks in Treme, the noise ordinances and increased property values in their community represent a threat to their own sense of geographic security, from which they draw their identity and sense of themselves. To them, the changes represent yet another move by people with power and money and by city officials and planners to 'clean things out,' a perception that directly illuminates how

[40] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011

residents here feel that they have been characterized and then identified by this denigration. For them, being cleaned out has everything to do with the denigration of black spaces.

The Duality of Space

In his seminal work, *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Du Bois (1994) argued theorized that blacks' identities are severed into many facets and that in their double-consciousness blacks see themselves through their own eyes, but also through the eyes of white America. It is quoting extensively here for the purpose of this discussion:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two—ness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings... African Americans struggle with a multi-faceted conception of self. This results from African slaves being torn away from their homeland and struggling to now define themselves as African American, even though they are not treated the same as other Americans. It also results from having to see themselves not only through their own eyes but through the eyes of the whites who for centuries had legal control over their lives; they are thus constantly aware of how much their own sense of identity and value conflicts with the identity imposed upon them by white America. (Du Bois, 1994)

Although written in 1903, Du Bois' theoretical construct is still useful today, particularly to the practice and theoretical foundations of planning. As I discussed above, blacks in Treme have socio-spatial identities that are constructed carefully over time and intrinsically connected to their history and memories. This connection to history and memory validates their persistent concerns for their own vulnerability while also allowing them to construct positive socio-spatial identities. In other words, blacks in Treme can simultaneously interpret the historical and present conditions of inequality as being rooted in racial oppression and emplaced into the spaces of the city and develop social, cultural, and economic tactics to survive their current conditions. Their way of operating in the world is therefore diagnostic of racial inequality; it is also transformative and blacks in Treme have reinterpreted space and community to have positive meanings – not just the negative meanings inscribed to them by the white gaze. Given the long history of urbanization and development in Treme, it is not surprising that residents and activists have a clear sense of the importance of the community to their cultural, social, and economic heritage and survival tactics. It is their survival tactics that are most overlooked in planning research and that I most wish to elevate here and in my concluding chapters.

Although I return to this discussion in Chapters 8 and 9, I want to add a word of caution here. While I do think that planning devalues and often undermines the types of spatially emplaced cultural and social claims made by blacks – the types seen here in Treme and later in the Lower Ninth Ward, I think it is wise to be cautious about over-emphasizing these survival tactics because ultimately, it is the system of racial oppression (and its spatial repercussions) that must be changed. I do think, as I will argue later, that these tactics point us in a new direction for changing this system but to equate these survival tactics with any sort of justification or nullification of a real discussion about the persistence of systemic racial inequality would itself be another form of dominance and oppression and one we should be wary of.[41]

However, to return to our discussion of how Du Bois double-consciousness plays out in Treme, I think we can add to his theoretical frame by understanding how blacks reclaim and utilize space in their attempts to merge their "double self into a better and truer self" (Du Bois, 1994). Let's see how they do this.

While planning projects have served to divide the neighborhood from its larger territory (north of Claiborne) in the case of the I-10 overpass and cut the neighborhood off (both literally and symbolically) from the French Quarter in the case of Armstrong Park, Treme residents and activists interviewed are also quick to recall the ways that they have worked to reclaim the spaces of the neighborhood literally and figuratively. Treme residents have literally reclaimed denigrated spaces such as under the I-10 overpass by painting murals of the former live oaks that once lined this corridor and using this space on important occasions such as Mardi Gras and St. Josephs Day, as well as during second lines. Their literal spatial work is complimented by their symbolic work and spatial practices such as second lines and masking at Carnival, which allow residents and activists

[41] My concerns here grew out of earlier research in the Broadmoor neighborhood in New Orleans. Broadmoor is a racially and economically mixed-neighborhood that was heavily flooded by the storm. Their rebuilding efforts, while led and implemented by the tremendous work of local activists and residents, were also greatly aided by financial and in-kind support of the Shell Corporation, Harvard University, M.I.T., and almost countless other universities and organizations. At one point, some scholars and local politicians framed Broadmoor's success as hinging solely on their own motivation and activism. Of course, they ignored the enormous amount of aid that the community received, but they also diagnosed Broadmoor's success almost through a model such as the ideas we saw in Lakeview's perception of their own individualism. Here the community was the individual that pulled itself up by the bootstraps and came back to thrive. It is a tricky discussion because not only must we recognize the types of support communities and individuals receive – and the ways inequality is structured into these support systems, but we must also recognize how the system continues to operate unfairly. The idea of *individual exceptionalism* or *community exceptionalism* is one we should be cautious of modeling too closely because, as Frederick Douglas correctly noted, power and dominance will still concede nothing without a struggle and we need to look for the ways that it exerts itself even in minority success stories.

in Treme to transform denigration or denigrated spaces into a practice and space that celebrates their own autonomy and freedom.[42] Mardi Gras became "culturally different for me" once I started masking noted one local activist. The wife of a local Mardi Gras Indian noted how important masking was to participants' sense of beauty and celebration despite racial oppression. Through masking, one local activist said that his experience of segregation was transformed and he was able to both change his own spatial experiences and celebrate his identity as a black man.

My emphasis here is on space as critical to Du Bois' theoretical framing of blacks' double-consciousness. The importance of these places for blacks cannot be undervalued. Treme residents recalled how important it was to have places to dress up and socialize and to have places that local black residents owned – both of which transformed residents' experiences of racial segregation and brutality. The fact that these places or black sites are heavily raced or segregated by race is not lost on current and long-time residents of the neighborhood. Located within the neighborhood, they provided and continue to provide a safe place for black residents to gather – a theme found across my fieldwork in Treme. These black spaces and the ability to root a sense of both survival and freedom into space challenge an individualistic, property-rights oriented view of land and development, such as we saw in Lakeview and in whites' spatial epistemologies. Residents in Treme use space to constitute a black identity that challenges the value of urban land for purely market purposes. Treme residents and activists use space to constitute an idea of black liberation, non-dominant cultural traditions, and non-denigrated views of self within overarching patterns of segregation. Importantly, these processes continue to be important today despite the lessening of overt forms of segregation. As noted earlier in this chapter, although this understanding of black spaces is not emphasized in planning literature or policy, the importance of black spaces has been noted throughout the literature on black geographies and in anthropological studies (Harris-Lacewell, 2004, 2007; Kelley, 1994, 2002). These studies affirm that blacks *use* space to resist hegemony and form counter-narratives about their own self and community worth (Harris-Lacewell, 2004, 2007). In other words, the use space to shape their double-consciousness (Du Bois, 1994).

[42] Masking is a term used by local Mardi Gras Indians to describe the process of costuming for Mardi Gras Day and other important dates such as St. Joseph's Day. Mardi Gras Indians wear elaborately beaded and feathered costumes that link their common heritage of oppression with Native Americans (M. P. Smith, 1994).

Conclusion

In contrast to the white spatial epistemologies presented in Chapter 5, here I want to start to construct the qualities inherent in blacks' spatial epistemologies. We saw in Chapter 5 that Lakeview residents' white spatial epistemologies emphasized a visual, ahistorical, bounded and no-relational view of the world (and of fairness). I argued that this white spatial epistemology undermines the black experience not only by erasing the past, but by demonizing black spaces in the city and normalizing a social and spatial order that represents their vision of the world (Hoelscher, 2006). Blacks in Treme (including residents and activists) have a distinctly different view of the world, a spatial epistemology that is rooted in memory and history. Their interpretive and diagnostic lens elevates and validates how race is experienced in the city. Blacks spatial epistemologies are overtly political and they view their spatial claims or their land tenure as vulnerable to and contested by dominant development narratives. Yet by reclaiming denigrated spaces and denigrated bodies, blacks' spatial epistemologies reinterpret and reimagine the urban landscape and in this sense, they are liberatory.

As I discussed above, Treme residents rely on the history of Treme as a space for Free People of Color and the historic and cultural home for blacks in New Orleans – a place where they held onto their history and cultural practices and where black spaces where they felt comfortable and black owned businesses dominated their neighborhood. Blacks' memories are interwoven with the ways in which development paradigms have undermined their spatial claims. These memories help them construct a positive socio-spatial identity, one that challenges the demonization of their neighborhood and their black bodies, and validate their experiences of race in the city. This aspect of their spatial epistemologies, one which "interprets history as an ongoing, unresolved process" (Hoelscher, 2006, pp. 56-57) contrasts with white residents in Lakeview who separate the past from the present. The *presence of the past* in blacks' recollections about their neighborhood is also a form of duality or Du Bois' double-consciousness (1994) because it simultaneously challenges the denigrated views of black communities (it *re*presents them as vital and cherished spaces) and articulates how space can be both vulnerable and beautiful – symbolically and materially. I do think it is critical that blacks' spatial epistemologies operate at both a symbolic and a material level because they help blacks view and use space as, as Haymes (1995) argues, a the site for the struggle for power and the struggle for their minds.

We should therefore think of their memories and rootedness as a strategic aspect of interpreting and diagnosing the urban experience as being shaped by race. This aspect is critical for their material and their symbolic struggles because it connects history to the present and shows how the dominant white development paradigm (no matter how normalized it has become) undermines their spatial claims and geographic tenure. For instance, blacks fears regarding new development proposals are intrinsically connected to their memories of the past and highlight the instability of their land claims within the capitalist approach to land development - their memories show these fears to be historically valid.

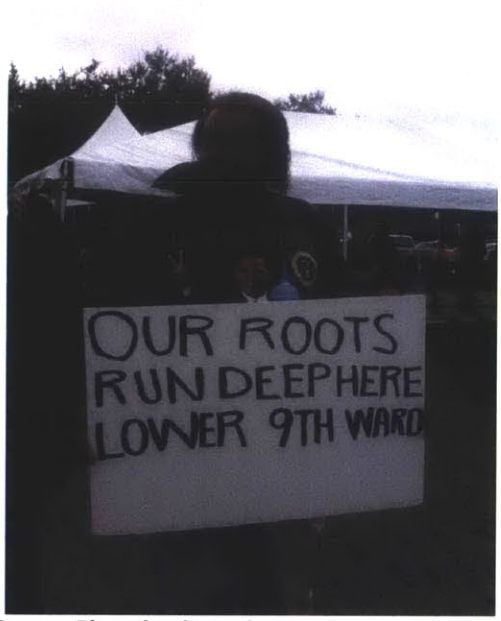
But to think of their diagnostic work as solely pointing out the ways in which capital and development work for some and not others is too narrow because blacks' in this study have also understood the urban landscape to be the site for their transformation and liberation. As we saw in this study of Treme, blacks used space to overcome the economic and racial discrimination, for protection from denigration, and to practice their own liberation. Their spatial and cultural practices, such as second lining and brass bands, should be seen as ways in which they transform their experiences and hold onto themselves.

Chapter 7

Sustain the Nine!

Introduction

Image 12: Lower Ninth Ward Resident, Fifth Anniversary of Katrina



Source: Photo by the author

Image 13: Lower Ninth Ward Center for Sustainable Engagement and Development

Source: Photo by the author

Much like Treme, the Lower Ninth Ward is a historical home to blacks in New Orleans. It is one of the first places they could purchase homes and it is a tight-knit mixed-community where residents socialize on their front porches. While the Lower Ninth Ward was devastated by Katrina, it is slowly rebuilding itself as a vibrant home for blacks and whites with a distinct understanding of their own vulnerability and vitality. In the following chapter I explore this vulnerability and the vitality of residents in the Lower Nine and analyze the role of planning in rebuilding this neighborhood. I then turn to a discussion about race and again return to Du Bois with my discussion regarding the duality of blacks' spatial epistemologies before concluding with a discussion about spatial relationships.

Coming Home to the Porches: The Symbolic and Economic Landscapes of the Lower Nine

We thought the whole world lived how we lived down here. (Lower Ninth Ward resident)

Image 14: Lower Ninth Ward Homes, 2008

Source: Photo by the author

Image 15: Lower Ninth Ward Homes, 2008

Source: Photo by the author

Similar to Treme, the Lower Ninth Ward's urban development patterns and planning history works to inform residents' constitution of their socio-spatial epistemologies. Across the neighborhood, residents use porches as critical social spaces and similar to Treme, this was consistent across all interviews and conversations with residents. Long-time and more recent residents often talk about the importance of these spaces for building community and connecting with family, friends, and neighbors. 'We're guilty of eating too much and talking too much down here" one resident commented when speaking about the importance of porches as social spaces and places where you invite others in to your home to share a meal. "You knew people not by name but because they sat on their porch" she noted. This same resident commented that one of the first things she bought after Katrina was a bench for her porch, so that she could 'come home' by sitting on her porch on a nice day and reconnect with the folks in the neighborhood. For many Lower Nine residents, these are spaces where relationships are even built across racial and class lines and across the lines between new comers and old timers in the community.[43] "You know, air conditioning really took a

[43] I did not interview all Treme and Lower Ninth Ward residents specifically about whether their access to air conditioning made a difference in how much time they spent on their porches. However, many residents in the Lower Nine commented and I also observed that during the high heat of the summer, people tend to stay indoors. Still, many residents said that they came outside to sit on their porches once the sun went down and the heat of the day was mostly gone. Interestingly, without air conditioning, one might expect the opposite pattern to exist between say the Lower Nine and Lakeview because historical homes in New Orleans are built to naturally keep the house cool – whereas the more suburban style houses typical in Lakeview are not. One might guess from a visual analysis of these neighborhoods that many of the homes in Lakeview have central air-conditioning and that homes in Treme and the Lower Nine have window air conditioning units – it being far more expensive to retrofit these older homes for central air.

bite out of that – but you do still see people sitting on their porches and sitting on their stoops...I see my neighbors – those neighbors are out almost every evening," said one resident. One white resident uses these spaces as places where she makes connections with her neighbors. "I've got porches that I visit that are blocks away," she said. This residents also noted that even with new development styles in the Lower Nine, such as the Make it Right homes where there is no set pattern or rhythm of porches, residents can still communicate with each other as long as they can holler to each other from porch to porch and that this "hollering neighborhood" really uses these spaces to 'bitch and complain' and share common stories. "People always speak here – you know, 'Hi, How you doing?' – a city thing, although I think they might be a little more friendly down here – I think that's a country thing" noted one resident. Residents use these spaces to discover and build on their commonality and particularly after Hurricane Katrina, on their commonality of living/rebuilding in a devastated community. One resident explained that the Lower Nine was her "homestead" – she was brought up here and this was where everyone she knew came from.

> [The porches are] places where you build community – like on a beautiful day like this – go and sit outside and [talk with] people who walk the block... People release things when talking. They feel comfortable to be able to talk with someone else.... [This] emotional attachment pervades every place. [When I returned after the storm, I] walked around to talk to the people and see Louisiana license plates. Made me feel so good because I knew I was home and I knew that nobody else could make me leave from here and it was a sense that I'm home...and I remember just walking around and just talking to people and it felt good because we had that connection of just "wow! I'm home" and I want to be home...and it was because we watched out for one another, we still watch out for one another. (Lower Ninth Ward resident)

The Lower Nine was a mix of residential with neighborhood bars, corner stores, churches, and schools. Despite the low property values, lack of urban amenities, and historically poor city services, Lower Nine residents point out the *places of value* in their community, including churches, porches, and community spaces. "We wish we had them [urban amenities]...we all want those things but not badly enough to move someplace else to go get them," explained one resident. Despite the private development market's reluctance to site retail spaces, grocery stores, etc. after Katrina because the neighborhood is less well off, residents put their efforts into rebuilding the places they value beyond their private homes. For instance, churches were some of the first community spaces to come back and many residents would travel to church in the Lower Nine even when they had not been able to return to the neighborhood. The church, beyond its religious

offerings, is a community space for residents and has, since Katrina, become one of the major sites where residents locate their idea of community and their socio-spatial identities.

The Lower Ninth Ward community has always been less well off than its counterparts in this study and because of this, residents use their local landscape for economic and material means such as farming, fishing, and crabbing. Black residents hunted and fished in Bayou Bienvenue in the 1950s and 60s[44] and also grew their own vegetables in small-large gardens located either on their own property or on vacant lots. "They would go back there and fish... and go hunting and go out in boats," explained one resident who "never knew it was there until after the storm and then we started going up and peaking over those corrugated iron things on the other side of the tracks." One older black resident, originally born in the Lower Ninth Ward and who returned to live there just prior to Katrina, noted that north of Claiborne Avenue, prior to the full development of the neighborhood, he recalled large lots of land being used for local farming efforts that served residents directly (with fruits and vegetables) and economically (residents were known to sell produce out of trucks in the neighborhood and other parts of the city). Another long-time white resident noted that they moved to the Lower Nine because her husband, a native black New Orleanian, had come to the "country" of the Lower Nine growing up to pick dewberries. Additionally, Lower Nine residents noted that many of their black ancestors came from Mississippi farming communities and this tradition contributed to their habit of directly relying on the land for food. The Lower Nine's land is therefore understood as an economic and material resource for a community that always had less and had to make do (Haymes, 1995; Keith & Pile, 1993)

Beyond its material and economic uses, the actual landscape of the Lower Ninth Ward also has symbolic meaning for black and white Lower Nine residents. The Lower Nine is isolated from the city due to its distance from the city's center (approximately 3.5 miles from the city center) and because of its separation from the city's urban fabric (due to the Industrial Canal), its relationship to water (bounded on three sides by water), and its location at the edge of Orleans Parish. The reliance on land as an economic resource and the neighborhood's relative isolation from the city work together to create a perception of the neighborhood as "country." This theme was highlighted

[44] Reclaiming and restoring Bayou Bienvenue has become one of the central efforts for Lower Ninth Ward residents since Hurricane Katrina (CSED, 2006). This reclamation work focuses on restoring the natural environmentally mitigative properties of the bayou and bringing native flora and fauna back. This work also has symbolic qualities, as the area surrounding the bayou had become so overgrown that many residents no longer knew the bayou existed. Thus, this work has focused on clearing a path to the bayou so that residents can once again enjoy this landscape for recreational reasons, as well as for fishing and crabbing.

in interviews with long-term and life-long residents, as well as with newer residents who moved to the neighborhood because of its connection to the river and the feeling of this "being country" in the city. A local activist commented that the Lower Nine was country because poor people used the land to "make do" and because residents continued to choose this life here. Another resident noted that it felt like "country" because there was nowhere else in New Orleans where you could walk up onto the levee and have such an expansive and "truly glorious" view of the sky. These perceptions of an urban landscape as beautiful country and the connection to the actual land via farming, hunting and fishing can be seen as informing a local socio-spatial identity that are deeply engrained in the specific geographic location of the Lower Nine. Interestingly, this spatial identity in some ways crosses racial lines, a point I return to later in this chapter.

Residents who called the neighborhood "country" also explained that it is "urban country" – where you have a mix of uses, urban amenities, and urban development patterns, but that you also *feel* like you are in the country because residents feel isolated from the city (beyond the Industrial Canal) and because residents perceive their own resilience and resourcefulness as having overcome the city's failure to develop their neighborhood equally. "The Lower 9 and Holy Cross are rural really – there are big lots and open space. Residents choose this life here – so its country. Residents here are environmentalists without the quotation marks – They are poor people who make do, who re-use and do what they have to do – they understand sustainability" (Resident, Lower Ninth Ward). To further explain this, residents comment that while the Lower Nine has, both historically and currently, been one of the last neighborhoods to benefit from city services and thus had lower property values and less urban amenities, their own resourcefulness and resilience over time has promoted a local socio-spatial identity that values this place above other more *desirable* destinations in the city.

Residents' perception of their landscape as beautiful counters the denigrating narratives of this community that are often held by planners and outsiders who site the lack of resources and urban amenities, the environmental vulnerability, and the poverty and low property values of the neighborhood as justifiable reasons for disinvestment. However, Lower Nine residents' interpretation of their community symbolically challenges this normative assumption, as we saw in the case of Treme. Landscape in the Lower Nine – the literal urban land that residents occupy and the figurative or symbolic land of beauty- contributes to residents' symbolic and economic wellbeing, connects them to historical roots, and shapes residents' survival of economic inequality.

By articulating their landscape as a means of economic survival and as a means of symbolic beauty, this narrative operates symbolically for residents to articulate their own knowledge, meaning, and connection to a valued landscape, to resist capitalist markets that did not serve them well, and to challenge narrow views of landscape that ignore symbolic connections as a source of local meaning and pride. Lower Nine residents resist normative meanings of landscape by constructing their own visions, interpretations, and practices of independence and survival - an example of their mental duality or double-consciousness (Du Bois, 1994; Hahn, 2006; Haymes, 1995) discussed below. Residents rely on the land in part to overcome their economic conditions and this resourcefulness, along with the symbolic condition of perceiving themselves to be socially resilient, contributes to their socio-spatial identity as being positively constituted in this location.

Residents' activism contributes to their identity as being resilient and active in constructing their neighborhood and not just accepting that private housing and development markets do not function the same way they do for whites. As one long-time activist noted that, "no one knows the fight we have gone through just to survive in the Lower Ninth Ward." Importantly, residents' political activism is rooted in restructuring space to meet their needs and to demand better outcomes from planning. At the heart of their struggle is for land tenure and land quality. As we saw in Treme, Lower Ninth Ward residents view their struggle over land as a political one. Whereas in Treme much of the political activism surrounding land tenure focuses in on the cultural practices intrinsic to the community's way of life, in the Lower Nine, much of the political activism currently focuses on environmental racism and sustainable redevelopment. Politically, this community is active is prohibiting further degradation and fighting for remediation and they use the history of development and environmental degradation in their neighborhood as well as their struggles to build their community in this geographic location to articulate why and how their neighborhood should be rebuilt.

In the Lower Nine, political activism has always been a dominant part of the community's socio-spatial identity and experience of race and place. The school desegregation movement in the Lower Nine in the 1950s and 1960s was focused not only on desegregating schools, but also on improving the condition of black public schools that were known for having deplorable conditions (Landphair, 1999). The continued fight against the widening of the Industrial Canal, a local movement that has been going on since the 1990s, is one of many local activists' concentrations to resist the environmental and physical degradation of their neighborhood. Residents' perception of their own

resilience and therefore how they construct a positive socio-spatial identity relies upon their long-term activism to push the city for development, basic amenities, and improved city services. In other words, it relies upon using space to document the differences they experience spatially and to fight for improvements to their neighborhood.

Proving Their Viability – Planning and the Lower Ninth Ward

> We are all about safety, you know because we are so vulnerable that the buy in for the bayou I think really helps connect both sides now because that thing protects all of us and so there's a sense that we better protect it – you know, we better take care of that. (Lower Ninth Ward resident)

Image 16: Lower Ninth Ward Implementation Strategy Flyer

Source: Lower Ninth Ward Center for Sustainable Engagement and Development

Representing the meaning of a neighborhood's geography was an immediate necessity after the storm. Black residents, particularly poor black residents, had to fight for their right to return to the city, to their neighborhoods, and to their homes (Brand, 2007a, 2007b). In the months following the storm, residents in the Lower Ninth Ward, responding to calls by local and national planners[45], developers, and many city officials to shrink the footprint of the city (Briggs, 2006) and to calls by local politicians that neighborhoods like the Lower Nine had to prove their viability as a

[45] Planning's response to shrink the city's footprint was not just local, but rather was condoned and supported by national discussions arguing that Katrina presented an opportunity to put in place rebuilding efforts that would deconcentrate poverty (Briggs, 2006).

neighborhood, argued that they should have a right to return to their neighborhood and to their homes. Residents from the Lower Ninth Ward[46] responded to what they considered the opportunistic tone of these plans and commented that they felt that because these initial plans and warnings focused only on predominantly black parts of the city, they reflected long-term attempts to move unwanted black residents out of the city. In the Lower Ninth Ward, residents noted that they felt the threat "on all sides" about whether or not they and their families would be allowed to return home. "We knew – I knew – that our very survival was at stake. The green dots, red dots...- all this was floating around and starting to come out. I was on the sustainability sub-committee for the BNOBC – those were the first green dots. You know, but we were used to fighting – with the Industrial Canal project and trying to advocate to close MRGO[47], there was 45 years of activism and 15 years with the HCNS before this. So I knew, it was prime time to fight," explained one resident. Similarly, residents noted that what felt to them like a land grab could only be interpreted through a legacy of racially based disinvestment in their neighborhood and not through a rational lens of what made economic sense to redevelop and rebuild.

In the Lower Ninth Ward, the initial narrative about rebuilding and reconstructing their neighborhood was about the "survival of their community" in direct response these threats that they would not be allowed to return. Early on, Lower Nine residents strategically used a combination of self-initiated planning processes (CSED, 2006), participation in city-led planning processes, and protest to secure their place in the city's future and *prove their viability* as a neighborhood (Brand, 2007a). In the months following the storm, the variety of planning processes provided a legitimate tool for communities such as the Lower Ninth Ward to engage with the city and, through participation, prove they had plans to return and rebuild. Despite their participation, many Lower Nine residents felt that the numerous city-led planning efforts, particularly the UNOP planning process and its use of America Speaks engagement techniques and technologies 'were a joke' and avoided the tensions of how the city would get rebuilt and for whom. "UNOP[48] was long and was full of shit," exclaimed one leading activist. Residents' comments regarding the legitimized planning processes and planners' development proposals indicate that they viewed these planning proposals as abstract representations of their communities, rather than as concrete development ideas that represented their own ideas and spatial visions (Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 2002; J. A.

[46] Residents from other predominantly black neighborhoods and from public housing also responded through protests and planning engagement as well and it was this backlash that forced city officials to withdraw their support from the BNOBC (Brand, 2007a, 2007b).
[47] Mississippi River Gulf Outlet
[48] Unified New Orleans Plan

Tyner, 2007). In response and as discussed in Chapter 3, residents created their own redevelopment plan, the Lower Nine's Sustainable Restoration plan (CSED, 2006), which focuses specifically on a resident driven holistic strategy for using sustainable development to increase economic and spatial equality for this community.

While the slow pace of return in the Lower Ninth Ward (due, to a large extent, to the unequal resources distributed by the Road Home program[49]) hampers its redevelopment, there is much happening "underground" in the Lower Nine – much of which is not visible. Although much of the work to rebuild remains invisible in the Lower Ninth Ward, there is enough to counter what Lakeview residents described as being "nothing down there" when talking about why the Lower Ninth Ward should not receive any funding. Overwhelmingly, local planning proposals and activism since 2005 has been focused on sustainable redevelopment (CSED, 2006). Locally, they define sustainable redevelopment as physical (including green buildings, solar panels, reduction of carbon impact, etc.), economic (including community land banking, green jobs, and urban agriculture), cultural (including community, cultural, and religious spaces), and environmental (including environmental activism against environmental injustice and activism for reclamation and natural lines of environmental defense). Numerous organizations and individuals working in the Lower Nine therefore focus on different currents of this overarching theme, including locally based and nationally based projects and development that support the larger goals of sustainable redevelopment (such as the Make It Right and Global Green projects).[50] For example, NENA is currently working on a community land banking strategy in the northern half of the Lower Nine while the CSED is currently working on a waterfront trail that connects the "River to the Bayou" with outdoor recreational and community space and an urban garden that would build their revenue stream and provide locally grown produce to the community. Importantly, residents and activists have worked with non-local (non-Lower Nine) organizations such as Make it Right and Global Green to shape the context of their work in the Lower Nine, ensure that it benefits local residents, and prevent land grabbing. For instance, early activism by CSED activists helped structure the Make it Right Foundation's focus on local homeowners, thus enabling these residents

[49] As discussed in Chapter 3, initial Road Home funding averaged approximately $56,000 per home in the Lower Ninth Ward, just under $60,000 in Treme, and approximately $107,000 per home in Lakeview (www.rebuild.la.gov/Residential.aspx#).

[50] These organizations include the Lower Ninth Ward Center for Sustainable Engagement and Development (CSED), Lowernine.org, the Lower Ninth Ward Village, the Lower Ninth Ward Neighborhood Empowerment Network Association (NENA), Global Green USA, the Make it Right Foundation, Our School at Blair Grocery, Backyard Gardeners Network, Holy Cross Neighborhood Association, Citizens Against Widening the Industrial Canal (CAWIC), Common Ground, and the Sierra Club.

to return to more energy efficient housing and to concentrate redevelopment within one area of the Lower Nine.[51] Without this type of engagement, local activists noted that they would not be able to ensure that Lower Nine residents benefitted from new development projects.

Residents' narrative regarding a comprehensive definition of sustainability relies on residents' use of space to conceptualize their own economic, symbolic and political survival. Sustainability therefore is a strategy for increasing equality and economic prosperity in this community. Using the land as a material as well as a symbolic resource therefore is critical to how residents' move forward in supporting or opposing development projects in their community. For instance, projects that have come to fruition include not only the Make it Right and Global Green residential redevelopment projects, but urban agriculture projects including community gardens and an alternative public school/urban agriculture project, community spaces such as The Village and other community centers operating out of alternative spaces such as churches and art centers, religious spaces, cultural and arts spaces, and environmental reclamation spaces as well. While the most visible projects are of course the Make it Right Foundation homes and the Global Green homes given these organizations' access to more substantial funding streams, the resurgence of community gardening efforts can be seen in the work of Our School at Blair Grocery, the Backyard Gardeners Network, Guerilla Gardeners, and the CSED. Together, these green homes and urban agriculture projects are beginning to yield increased access to locally grown food, economic benefits to local organizations, more sustainable development patterns and decreased carbon emissions, and an increase in community spaces for residents to gather and share in gardening and socializing.

In terms of the community and social spaces, residents commented that these spaces have become even more important in the wake of Katrina and they actively use these spaces to do the sort of socializing and community gathering/building that they need to do in order to survive as a community. Because Lower Nine residents understand their survival to be community based, they therefore understand and work to reconstruct these social and community spaces so that they have a place where their community can survive and thrive. For instance, one local organizer/resident explained that the community space he ran was vital to providing social gathering space for residents, as well as housing other tangible benefits like computer resources, furniture donations,

[51] At the present time, there are 14 complete and inhabited Make it Right homes and nearly 20 under construction. The organizations plans on building 150 homes in the Lower Nine. http://www.makeitrightnola.org/index.php/work_progress/

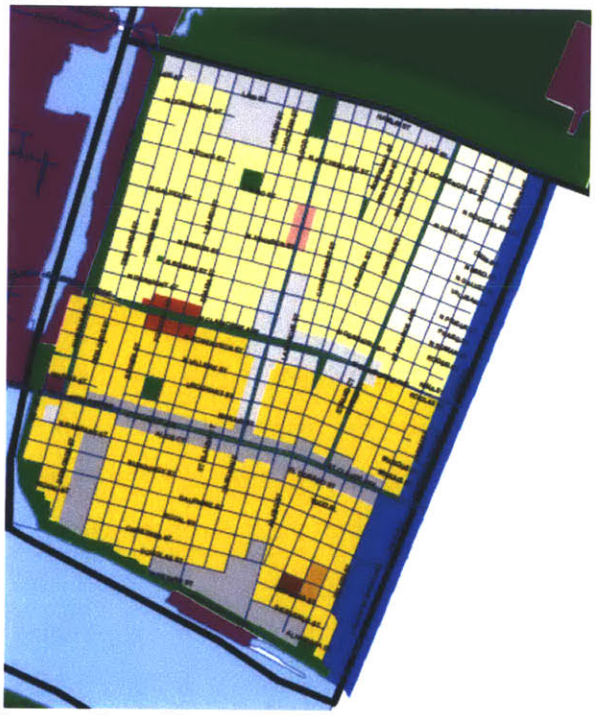
community celebrations such a shrimp boils and Saints games, and rebuilding resources. Similarly many of these organizations work to create a space and sense of openness in their office spaces so that residents in need can come to them to get support – even if it's the support of small amounts of cash to get someone through the week with groceries. These spaces provide what Harris-Perry (2007) calls a subsidy for the local community, a point I return to later in this chapter.

Using space to implement their narratives about this community's positive identity, Lower Nine residents are trying to implement their comprehensive view of sustainability and their vision for a full community return while also trying to ensure their continued geographic, psychological, and political security in the city. Their aspirations and vision for the Lower Nine however, draw on their narrative of self-worth and community meaning – rather than a denigrated view of their community. Residents' and activists' work to rebuild sustainably reflects their narratives about using space for economic and ontological survival and thus their freedom from a reliance on an economic system that serves them unequally, from a social system that has historically denigrated their worldview and experiences, and from a development framework that most recently attempted to block their right of return. Importantly, they use their narratives and use space to conceive of and implement actions that benefit their worldview. It might be said that the Lower Nine's spatial visions are what Lefebvre calls "representational spaces" – the spaces of resistance and protest that are here proposed as alternatives to the hegemonic and rational articulations of space that deny cultural and emotional place attachment and the intricate connections between land, economy, and race (Lefebvre, 1991).

Despite residents' engagement and activism, there is a critical disconnect between planning practice and the goals and aspirations of the community. For instance, despite the extensive engagement in various city planning processes and the framing of comprehensive sustainable restoration goals in the city's Master Plan, the city's redevelopment of the Sanchez Center (a combined community center and a fire/police station sub-station located on Claiborne Avenue) did not incorporate the neighborhood's goals for rebuilding a sustainable built environment or decreasing their carbon impact. Simple ways of achieving this spatial vision on site at the Sanchez Center, including compact development, green building strategies, improved infrastructure and environmentally sensitive site-design (CSED, 2006, pp. 5-13) were absent in the city's initial proposals for this site. Although residents opposed this development proposal and encouraged city

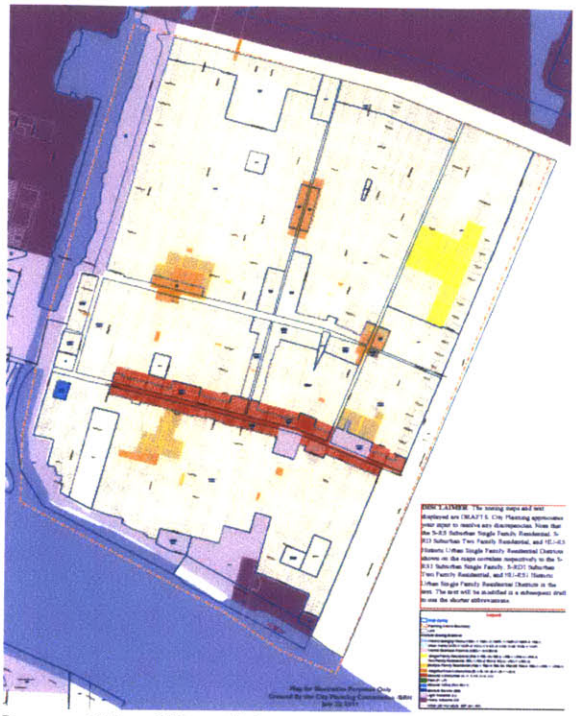
planners to reconsider their proposal and include more environmentally and locally sensitive urban design strategies, but the outcomes of this process are still unclear.

Figure 17: Adopted Land Use Plan, Lower Ninth Ward



Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

Figure 18: Proposed CZO, Lower Ninth Ward



Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

Another example of this disconnect between local planners and Lower Nine residents' aspirations for redevelopment is occurring in the current CZO process. Planners in the newest iteration of the CZO have ignored residents' requests that all lands bordering the local waterways be zoned recreational and open spaces. Catering to the Port of New Orleans and shipping industry interests rather than local residents, these spaces have been zoned in the proposed CZO as Light and Heavy Industrial Uses (Figures 17 and 18, Appendices H and I) – which would not only significantly eradicate much of the green space available to Lower Ninth Ward residents, but would also place industrial interests over that of environmental and local interests. The current CZO map also does not reflect the adopted Land Use Map in the City's Comprehensive Master Plan that shows this land as either Mixed-Use Low-Density (along Bayou Bienvenue), Industrial (along the Industrial Canal), or Park and Open Space (along the Industrial Canal and the Mississippi River). Of course, planners must balance the economic needs of the city and competing interests regarding the use and regulation of space, but as we saw in Treme, the economic interests often outweigh the interests of local minority and low-income communities. If these zoning changes go through, Lower Nine

residents could potentially lose the majority of their local green space, which is heavily used and valued by local residents.

Further, Lower Nine residents feel that given their extensive engagement in the planning process, the outcomes should better reflect what serves them as a community – rather than what serves the city's economic interests. This battle is not new to planning and much of the environmental justice movement grew out of the persistent history of unwanted uses being sited in low-income and minority communities. However, this reflects an inability by planners to better balance these needs and to work toward at the very least, a more balanced approach to representing different and competing interests.

The transformation of spaces towards community protection and empowerment and the use of space for economic survival and social stability in the Lower Ninth Ward mirror residents' deeply community-centered way of orienting themselves within an unequal and individualized society. Current narratives about resilience and sustainable redevelopment reflect this deep attachment and use of space and for Lower Nine residents interviewed in this dissertation, sustainability and resilience have economic, cultural, social, and environmental meanings. Being able to maintain this duality (positive socio-spatial identities amidst denigration and neglect) is itself a strategy for survival and narratives that combine both the positive and negative aspects of residents' place in the city are the means through which residents navigate the conditions in which they find themselves and strategize their actions toward development goals that better serve the positive images of their community.

The rebuilding narratives in the Lower Ninth Ward strategically bring together the community in the sense that, to some extent, residents perceive their work to be about the community's survival and not just individual survival. Many residents commented that their work is about bringing everyone home and that until those who want to return are able to do so, their fight is not over.[52] This narrative is linked to their strategic partnerships that not only enable residents to rebuild and return but also enable them to rebuild both affordably and in more environmentally sustainable ways. Therefore, residents are now trying to shape the built environment to better reflect their

[52] During interviews with residents, I did not necessarily pursue questions regarding what would happen if the repopulation rate remains relatively the same in the Lower Ninth Ward, except in the context of talking with residents who worked with local non-profit organizations, when I did ask them about redevelopment visions for areas of the Lower Nine that remained uninhabited.

narrative about vitality, community, and sustainability. Residents' narratives and positive identities reflect their (historical and current) struggles in and over space AND they are now trying to reshape the urban landscape to support this vision.

While Lower Ninth Ward residents have focused their activism since 2005 on different stages of rebuilding, their work to continue to protect their place in the city is based on knowledge that they will never face a time when they are not under threat from either development forces or neglect. Their initial win to change the post-Katrina development conversation and to move it away from early proposals to shrink the city's footprint was not the end and residents commented that their survival continued to be at stake because the development system continued to be structured to devalue their spatial demands. In interviews, Lower Nine residents felt that they must continually battle not only for basic amenities, but also for the right to exist as a community. Residents sense that de facto policies, such as the lack of progress regarding Road Home property auctions in the northern section of their neighborhood, are less overt ways for the city to prohibit redevelopment of their neighborhood and set the pace for future outcomes.

Therefore, drawing on historical patterns of disinvestment and neglect (being the last to receive city services) and drawing on a narrative of equality, self-worth and community-worth, Lower Nine residents direct their continued work to protect their community toward city officials and national audiences that they feel can make a difference in terms of the resources and development in their community and in terms of how redevelopment policies get framed and contextualized. Generic or abstract strategies that do not directly benefit their socio-spatial identities must get worked out at the local level and with local residents. Although the Make it Right redevelopment represents some level of success because it benefit local homeowners, there are continued issues of affordability with this project that have yet to be thoroughly worked out. Comparatively, the redevelopment of the Sanchez Center, if left unchanged, perpetuates a pattern whereby planners ignore community participation and visions at the level of implementation. This pattern would continue to create spaces that, while providing critical services, also fail to fully actualize the community's long-term vision for comprehensive sustainable development.

Importantly, what residents are seeking in this long-term work are not just basic amenities, but amenities on their own terms and tools for community building that will contribute to their long-term survival as a community and their interests are in ensuring that projects benefit local

residents. For instance, residents are raising critical questions regarding the details of current work to develop a local grocery store (a public-private partnership). Their questions focus on the benefits to the community in terms of jobs, community development agreements, spatial development, and access to affordable fresh and local food. Similarly, while Lower Nine residents have not rejected more concentrated development of residential areas on higher ground (CSED, 2006, pp. 5-6), their redevelopment vision ensures that former residents are enabled and empowered to return within the neighborhood. In both projects, residents question the long-term repercussions of projects for their community and want to ensure that the various development proposals meet their direct needs. Their concern for being included in both the process and the outcomes emphasizes the awareness residents have not only of being excluded from such decision-making in the past, but also their knowledge about who development agreements typically benefit. Residents envision a planning and policy system in which the process and outcomes of planning benefit them as a community in both the short and long-term. What they don't want is a project that planners have decided would benefit them with no thorough analysis of what the real outcomes are and in order to ensure this, they demand to be a part of the process and the outcomes.

Forgetting...and Not Forgetting About Race

In previous chapters, I argued that whether tacit or overt – residents in Lakeview and Treme are talking about race when they talk about their hopes and fears for the redevelopment of their neighborhood. For Treme and Lower Ninth Ward residents and activists, race was an immediate and critical aspect of their narratives and articulation of how the city would be restructured and why they felt insecure in the wake of the storm. Drawing upon their respective urban histories of redevelopment and gentrification (Treme) or neglect (Lower Ninth Ward), residents in both neighborhoods commented that because their neighborhoods were predominantly black and lower-income, their place in the city was undervalued as a site of resident return and valued only for its economic potential (Treme) or its lack thereof (Lower Ninth Ward). Black residents in both communities, as well as white residents in the Lower Nine, interpreted redevelopment strategies as overemphasizing economic worth and underemphasizing psychological or political attachment to place and geographic security for black residents. Lower Nine residents pointed out that early redevelopment strategies, including shrinking the city's footprint and returning large areas of the city to green space, cannot be seen as emphasizing environmental protection because 1) Lakeview was never slated for green space in redevelopment plans and 2) the Lower Nine's history of

environmental neglect and environmental racism prohibits a sudden environmental protection approach to redevelopment on the part of planners and city officials.

Further, for black residents and activists, their memories of past denigrations or the *presence of the past in the present* guides their interpretations of how redevelopment proposals are discriminatory. Using their respective histories of redevelopment/ gentrification and neglect, black residents in Treme and the Lower Nine argued that a racially biased development framework continued to underlie how planners and developers viewed their geographies.

Black residents' narratives are therefore 1) identifying how their insecurity is influenced by the devaluation of black communities and their geographies; 2) elevating race as a causal factor in redevelopment proposals; 3) using their respective histories of neglect and gentrification to prove that their elevation of geographic racism is valid; 4) assigning blame toward city officials, developers, and planners and toward larger societal forces; and 4) diagnosing the problems underlying redevelopment as failing to achieve socially just outcomes because they ignore race. Thus black residents in Treme and the Lower Nine challenge the dominant direction of narratives by using their history and experiences over time to show how space is still a valid and critical means through which racial differences are implemented, but also through which they have attained some levels of economic and social freedom. For blacks, Katrina did provide an opportunity to remake the city, but for residents and activists interviewed in this dissertation, it was an opportunity to address historical patterns of racial and socio-spatial inequality.[53]

Lower Ninth Ward organizations have directed their rebuilding narratives and actions toward both local and state authorities, but also toward national press, politicians, and volunteers. As discussed in the introduction, this comes at a time in US history when there is a renewed push by media and many conservative politicians against race as having salience in today's society. Within this context, Lower Nine residents elevate race as having salience for how cities are developed (or not) and for shaping their experiences and claims to space. Additionally, Lower Nine residents change the focus of their narrative, depending on the audience. For instance, if residents feel their conversations and comments will reach a national audience, they are quick to link their work to an issue of survival and resilience. They want the national audience to know both that they are resilient and working for their community, but also that there is still great need in their community. Lower Nine residents

[53] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, December 29, 2011

also want a national audience to understand the historical and racial roots to their inequality and therefore they assign blame on systematic, overt, and concealed forms of racism as they continue to be experienced today. This narrative structure challenges denigrated views of black and poor communities as not working, asking for handouts, and expecting the government to support them; it also challenges dominant narratives that ignore race as ways urban spatial inequalities are structured.

Over the course of this research, residents would frame their responses to me differently depending on the audience they believed I represented. If they felt I was taking this message outside the local community, they would frame their responses by focusing on resilience and survival. At the same time, when they perceived my role to be working with the local organization or to be working at the local university, the same residents would frame their responses by focusing on the city's history of neglect, the history of environmental racism, and the continued inaction by the city to support redevelopment in the Lower Nine. While across all meetings and interviews in the Lower Ninth Ward the issue of race as shaping recovery was constant within black and white residents' responses, residents were also strategic about the narrative they delivered.

In the Lower Ninth Ward, residents overwhelmingly talk about family and history when talking about the meaning and value of their neighborhood. On the one hand, family ties are rooted in the specific geography and racial history of the Lower Ninth Ward – where residents' parents or grandparents were able to purchase homes and then subsequently hand them down generation to generation. The neighborhood's population growth in the 1950s was due in part to it being one of the only places that blacks could purchase property in a city that was heavily redlined (Table 1). Black families are rooted at very specific geographies – living within blocks of one another before the storm. "The connection is made" because "large families know your history" and there is a "sense of closeness" or a "common closeness" explained on life-long resident. Even residents that have moved to the Lower Ninth Ward more recently or white residents whose families are not local note how common it is to find generations of African-American family members living within a few blocks of one another. Family networks have also helped one another recover from the storm, sharing their resources and skills and rebuilding family homes house by house. One resident commented that you knew the different houses in the neighborhood because of their families and rather than referencing knowing a person because of who they are, she stated that she knew residents because she knew "where they are," meaning she knew who they were based on what

house they were from. "Through the flooding we have lost family, the things money can't buy," she explained, families have "lived here forever".

Beyond locating and rooting family geographically, family, in a psychological sense for Lower Ninth Ward residents, provides a consistent sense of security and continuity with the past. For residents here, their sense of security is provided through 1) a social network of looking out for one another and of being looked out for, 2) familiarity with the faces and social practices of a place, and 3) a sense of being valued – all of which are rooted in the specific social and familial networks of the neighborhood. In terms of the social network, many residents noted that they rely on family members and friends of the family for the emotional support of dealing with racism and poverty and further that they feel "comfortable" here in the Lower Ninth Ward whereas they feel uncomfortable and alone in other places in the city.

Additionally, these emplaced social networks provide what Harris-Perry (2007) calls a *subsidy.* Although Harris-Perry is referring in her work to the political subsidy that black churches provide, this framework could also be used to explain the economic and psychological subsidies that having family *in place* provides to black residents in the Lower Nine. One life-long black resident commented that 'you never had to worry about anything' because your local family network would provide for you when you were in need and you "had a sense of comfort that family will take care of family." "You never had to worry about a babysitter and you always had somebody to pick you up," she explained. "This is how I look at it," she said, "I have five different men that I can call in case my car breaks down...people come and check on me in the neighborhood...[the] grandmothers in the community [provide the] place where you could always get a meal." They are the "mother figure[s] and others as mother and grandmother, and fathers and grandfather [figures providing the] type of security embedded in relationships." This resident also noted, that this social network provides things "money can't buy" because it operates to create a common and safe place of shared resources.

> We thought the whole world lived how we lived down here, where it's common to have 2-3 generations living in the same home, where you bought a home next door to your parents. My sister and I bought a home right next door to each other...it's a connection, might not be blood related but we are connected by blood or the connection to the community....It may not be my real uncle, but I refer to him that way because I've known him so long. (Lower Ninth Ward resident)

As we saw in Treme, this finding affirms Carol Stack's (1974) classic work on how black communities use social networks to cope with and strategize through the experiences of poverty

and on how these emplaced social networks contribute to the resilience and structure of community life in black communities.

Yet in the Lower Nine, this psychological subsidy extends to non-family networks because non-familial residents, or what one resident called *block mothers,* look out for, provide meals and emotional support to non-family members. Newer residents to the Lower Nine feel this same level of connectedness to the emplaced social networks prevalent in the Lower Nine – even in the wake of slow return post-Katrina. For instance, one white resident noted that in "making the block" and "busing her block" on a daily basis she has come to know, be connected to, and share a mutual "looking out for one another" with her local social network. Additionally, for residents who are less well off, this network also provides tangible such as meals, rides out of the neighborhood, childcare, car care, looking out for one another's properties, etc. – in addition to a connection to history and to a racial narrative of self-worth (particularly for long-term black residents).

The familiarity that residents have with one another within the neighborhood has promoted what many newer and white residents comment on as an openness and tolerance within the neighborhood dynamic. White residents referred to this process of "being grafted in" to the Lower Ninth Ward as one they feel gratitude for in the sense of being welcomed into the community, they also feel that their "acceptance" came from their own acknowledgement/acceptance of the historical and racial narratives that are so much a part of the Lower Ninth Ward' s identity. One white resident commented that as long as she both "never forgot about race and forgot about race," she would be accepted in the Lower Ninth Ward community, meaning that she had to value and hear black residents' story and experiences but also not let it be the only way she saw long-time black residents. She explained that until after Katrina she "didn't have an appreciation for how deep the divisions were between back-a-town and here (Holy Cross)." "And you know, they are still pretty rife, but I do think on a one to one basis that people feel more connected, [but] I think there's still a battle for turf." "I have to honor that your experience is different than mine. I have to honor that you've been here longer than me and that we're both in the same boat – and that really helps," she further explained. Without underplaying internal divisions or forms of discrimination and xenophobia, it is this "valuing" or "hearing" of racialized histories that helps residents feel at home and safe in the Lower Nine, despite racial and even economic differences. And rather than feeling like they are outsiders within such strong familial ties, many white residents feel that they have become "community shareholders" because they can value and hear this narrative and therefore be

welcomed into the community. As one activist commented, for whites to accept these narratives as true not only confirms the narrative as valid and therefore denies dominant narratives that ignore or make race invisible, but also allows whites to show solidarity with blacks, to say that 'in their name' race will not be made invisible, and to seek new policies for more a democratic and racially just city.

This acceptance and valuing of blacks' narratives and reflections on how race shapes their lives should be seen as an act of solidarity and acknowledgement (Dawson, 2001; Mansbridge & Morris, 2001), one that is largely absent from planning and social policy narratives and policies that ignore race as a fundamental socialized means of structuring difference and inequality. As we saw in Lakeview, the dominant narrative ignores race as a motivating factor in urban development aspirations, while at the same time undermining black communities' work to protect their own place in the city. This linking of fates between blacks and whites validates race and racial experiences, but also elevates non-dominant perceptions of racism and conceptualizations of fairness and equity by arguing that emplaced racial networks have economic, social, and psychological meaning and that these counter-meanings present an alternative way of understanding a community's place attachment. One resident commented that the acceptance and validation of these narratives meant that you had to be kind of 'schizophrenic' because you had to acknowledge and validate racial experiences and also view yourself in the same boat with black residents.

To a large extent, their positive racial identities come from the psychological benefits noted above, but also from the psychological benefits of ownership, the psychology of perceiving themselves to be "in the country," and a strong history of activism. Residents noted the importance of owning their own home and how important this had been to their family over the past generations. While the psychology of ownership for black families cannot be undervalued here, it is only part of why the residents feel so much pride in and psychological attachment to the Lower Nine. The perception of being in the country, unique to the Lower Ninth Ward, has given residents a perception of their own freedom and liberation from the racial brutality of the city itself. Whereas Treme was literally the home to Free People of Color, the Lower Ninth Ward was home to the first wave of black homeowners. It is seemingly contradictory that a place created in a sense out of racism has in fact become viewed internally as a place where residents can be sheltered from the psychological effects of denigration, but this holds across interviews with Lower Nine residents. Finally, this

positive racial identity comes from their strong history of political activism discussed above, a legacy that has been passed down generation to generation (residents noted that they would hand this fight down to their grandchildren) and is currently practiced by residents in fighting for the return of their neighborhood. Thus, even in a neighborhood that by all accounts lacks most urban necessities (grocery stores, reliable transit, shopping, entertainment venues, schools, etc.), residents have created a place of value, freedom, and self-worth.

In many ways, this insight about residents' positive racial identity counters assumptions that capitalism and planning will *free* all people from their dependence on nature and that through urban development residents' lives and sense of being are improved.[54] In the case of the Lower Nine, residents use space and their psychological conceptualizations of their own worth to free themselves from the reality and brutality of capitalism's inequality,[55] as well as from planning's denigration of their community. Steve Hahn's (2006) work on white farmers in Georgia's upcountry between 1850-1890 begins to address this issue of resisting impoverishment, however the research presented in this dissertation points to the critical importance of this resistance for black communities. Beyond the perception of individual resistance to dependence on capitalist systems, Lower Nine residents, particularly black residents, perceive of their resistance and survival from their conceptualization of a shared or linked fate (community versus individual fate) and their refusal to devalue race as social construct that structures their lives. This resistance and survival allow Lower Nine residents to conceive of their own freedom from racial brutality in space and therefore build a psychologically secure place in the city.

While locally owned businesses and specific black sites, such as churches, porches, and community centers, are stressed by residents in their narrative about the importance of place, Lower Nine residents also often talk about the Lower Ninth Ward as a whole when talking about their socio-spatial identities. Residents' narratives about the Lower Ninth Ward are complicated by the historical and internal divisions between the Lower Ninth Ward (north of St. Claude) and Holy Cross (south of St. Claude), a division closely aligned with the perception and reality of an internal racial divide. "*Back-a-town*" a term used by Treme residents' discussions about place, is also a term used in the Lower Ninth Ward. This term is both relational and relative (meaning away from the river from where you are standing) and racial, meaning away from the white spaces, which were

[54] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011
[55] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011

historically located on higher ground toward the river. Although Holy Cross has been a majority black neighborhood within the Lower Ninth Ward since the 1980s (U.S. Census Bureau), this narrative still differentiates Holy Cross as having received more attention and investment from the city and the Lower Ninth Ward, the traditionally black parts of the neighborhood away from the river, as having received less attention and investment from the city.

This relational term and way of locating oneself in the neighborhood cannot be disentangled from residents' spatial understanding of the entire Lower Ninth Ward and hints at the internal divisiveness that is often ignored or misunderstood in planning. Further, and perhaps more importantly, this way of locating oneself within spatially emplaced racial dynamics reveals the continued dynamic of racially defined mental maps. Despite demographic changes, residents' perceptions of space maintain the legacy of racial segregation and it's meaning for blacks, beyond the historical constraints that originally set these patterns. As in Treme, this indicates that residents' comfortably orient and locate themselves within the city based on their knowledge of the past and based on how they understand these racially based spatial relationships to linger long after the legal forms of segregation have passed.

Post-Katrina, this narrative or way of locating oneself geographically has become far more complicated. On one hand, residents in the entire Lower Nine have been cast together by Katrina and therefore the narratives across interviews at times emphasize the entire neighborhood and the importance of its survival. Residents are quick to point out that much of the green redevelopment work and attention is actually happening north of St. Claude and the historical racial boundary of disinvestment and neglect. On the other hand, in terms of individual decisions regarding where to locate and move within the neighborhood, residents still perceive these internalized racial boundaries and histories and at times, the internal racial divisions make it more difficult for groups to work together. For instance, one life-long black Lower Ninth Ward resident and activist who leads many local community activism efforts focused on the entire Lower Nine was hesitant to purchase a house after Katrina south of St. Claude Avenue, where he perceived whites to historically live.

This way of locating oneself geographically does not mean that residents internalize the denigration of their neighborhood or necessarily equate black spaces with neglect, because they are able to both diagnose the causes of urban and racial inequality and seek something different for their

communities, as discussed below. As in Treme, the influence of the development history on socio-spatial identity in the Lower Ninth Ward cannot be disengaged from the city's larger patterns and framework of racialized development. In the Lower Nine, residents' narrative focuses in on an urban development history that details how the city invested and developed white neighborhoods while ignoring or delaying development in black neighborhoods. For instance, residents are quick to stress the importance of being able to purchase property in the Lower Nine; something denied them in other parts of the city. Further, while its physical isolation was enhanced because of the Industrial Canal and location on the parish border, the Lower Ninth Ward has historically been the last neighborhood to benefit from municipal services (Campanella, 2006; Lewis, 2003). The Lower Ninth Ward was also the last neighborhood to receive gas, potable water, and electricity and the last neighborhood residents were allowed to return after Katrina. Residents interpret this reality to mean that to local politicians and planners, the neighborhood and its residents do not matter politically or economically because it is a predominantly low-income black community. As we saw in Treme, residents understanding of the city and their neighborhood's development draws on their memories of place and the history of racially motivated urban development.

Although residents point to the neglect by city and private forces, resulting in visible differences in spatial resources (i.e. poorer city services, lack of grocery stores, etc.), they do so to illuminate how current policies and practices do not function for them in the same way that they do for whites. For instance, despite major redevelopment projects by the Make it Right and Global Green Foundations in the Lower Nine post-Katrina, these private investments have yet to spill over into additional public or private investment. Residents point to the visible differences between their neighborhood and others, differences that go beyond class and as having a racial bias. However, within these same narratives, residents emphasize the spaces they value, fight for, and rely on for their socio-economic wellbeing - the spaces that constitute a non-denigrated view of their socio-spatial identity. In pointing out the neglect, they are not indicating their own internalization of this neglect – rather they are pointing out their own knowledge of how planning and private markets function differently for them. This again is an example of blacks' double-consciousness (Du Bois, 1994), a point I now turn to.

The Duality of Space (Part Two)

> "This is the only community that I know of, other than evacuating....so when you think of a place like this, born and raised is all you know," (Lower Ninth Ward resident).

Lower Nine residents', particularly long-time black residents, know the neighborhood through a closely intertwined spatial and familial lens and recognize their emplaced living history as one in which they find comfort, meaning, and security.[56] This positive interpretation of racial history exists simultaneously alongside residents' memories of oppression, environmental and developmental racism – or more negative aspects of racism and their racial identity. The duality of these positive and negative interpretations of racial experiences presents a more complex understanding of race that goes beyond simplistic interpretations of race that either degrade racialized places or blame the victims that live within these places, that deny the importance of race as being as significant as class (Wilson, 1980), or that ignore race altogether. As we saw earlier, Lakeview residents denied that race was a motivating factor for shaping their development aspirations and their planning activism to control who lives in their community.

Lower Ninth Ward residents' narratives about the importance of history draw upon a narrative that stresses the importance of the neighborhood's racial history for those who have historically had less power. In other words, residents' use history (their history of political and environmental activism and their history as a racialized landscape) to promote a positive racial identity beyond their recognition of oppression. As in Treme, Lower Ninth Ward residents identify the persistence of both present and past urban development and planning projects (or lack thereof) as denigrating their neighborhood due to its racial identity. For residents, the denigration of the Lower Ninth Ward has had everything to do with race and residents connect the built environment degradation to an environmental racism that has created made their community more vulnerable to storms and flooding, but also to the unwanted effects of port and lock expansion. However, also similar to Treme, Lower Ninth Ward residents are quick to align this narrative of disinvestment or deconstruction with one of their own resilience and activism to shape the spaces of their neighborhood. For instance, in the same narrative about locating the Lower Ninth Ward's devastation post-Katrina and the lack of city and federal aid to this neighborhood, one local black activist noted that, 'if you live in the Lower Nine post-Katrina you are surviving.' Residents point to the combination of overt prohibitions on redevelopment post-Katrina, such as the BNOBC's green-dot map, and de-facto prohibitions, such as the technicalities of the Road Home program that

[56] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011

allotted less money to Lower Ninth Ward residents than to Lakeview residents (Table 6) and the reluctance of the New Orleans Redevelopment Agency (NORA) to sell Road Home properties north of Galvez Street in the Lower Nine. In pointing these overt and de-facto processes out – ones that residents learn about through their efforts toward redevelopment, they also point out their own resilience and work to reclaim the community through their own activism and support of specific development projects – such as the widespread growth of "green" development projects which include not only major projects like Make it Right and Global Green, but smaller scale urban agriculture, bayou reclamation, and open space projects.

This duality - of resilience and survival AND city-led deconstruction and prohibited development is similar to what is found in Treme residents' narrative that diagnosed the detrimental effects of development of their black community while also identifying the ways in which they have overcome denigrated views of black people. In both cases, space is critical to constituting this dual racial identity. Space provides tangible resources, emplaced networks that validate their memories and help blacks' overcome economic and racial discrimination, symbolic forms of beauty, and protection or refuge from direct discrimination and from disenfranchisement. Land tenures gives blacks a literal and figurative space to act politically and therefore is critical to restructuring dominant development narratives in a spatially representative democracy.

This theme of survival across interviews and residents' articulation of their geographic situation indicates that black residents use space not only to construct their socio-spatial identities, but that they do so in a way that allows them to interpret and explain the forces that shape their lives. Beyond surviving what they feel is a racially motivated underdevelopment of their neighborhoods and beyond articulating what it means to be black in New Orleans, residents' in both the Lower Nine and Treme reinterpret their racialized landscapes and use space as a means of constituting their own freedom and positive racial identities.

In the Lower Nine, despite denigration by other neighborhoods (particularly Lakeview and Uptown residents) or by the media for why they would rebuild their neighborhood, my interviews suggest that Lower Nine residents have not internalized the denigration of their neighborhood or of black people. In this sense, the oppression of blacks – which has had and continues to have economic, spatial, psychological, and political repercussions, has a counterpart of black resistance and

techniques for survival and re-conceptualizing resilience and freedom.[57] One white resident commented that her husband, a black activist, felt free in the Lower Ninth Ward from the racial litmus tests he felt in other neighborhoods in the city. For black residents in Lower Nine, this counter narrative critically relies on having their stories about their experiences and how they have dealt with the experiences of racism and oppression heard and valued. It also relies on residents using their history, experience, and solidarity to conceptualize their own community pride and sense of self as, as Langston Hughes writes[58], beautiful and not ashamed of their emplaced and historical denigration.

In the Lower Nine however, we see a more nuanced understanding of this double-consciousness because of the diversity of the population. As noted earlier, one white resident said that living in the Lower Nine meant that she had to be schizophrenic about understanding the role of race in shaping her community – that she must always forget about race and never forget about race in order to validate the experiences of black residents.

Spatial Relationships

Place identity in the Lower Nine is greatly shaped by residents' deep connection to landscape derived from the social and physical isolation of the community, the reliance on the land for economic survival, and the perception of symbolic beauty. However, Lower Nine residents' socio-spatial identities cannot be analyzed without understanding the geographic boundedness of the Lower Ninth Ward. While the Lower Nine is bound by its geography – with water on three sides, to the east, it is bounded by the political border of Orleans Parish as well as the racialized border of a predominantly white St. Bernard Parish, a parish that has worked against economic and racial integration and seen by residents as an unwelcoming place to go.[59]

Similarly, Treme residents are likely to view their specific geographic location within the city as central to their socio-spatial identities. As one long-time activist stated, "in the African-American community people are very geographical," and further, they are very stable geographically – meaning they tend to stay within their communities for generations, as residents in both Treme and the Lower Nine confirmed in interviews. Displacement then, for African-American communities,

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[57] J. Phillip Thompson, personal communication, November 11, 2011
[58] Langston Hughes, I, Too, Sing America (Hughes, 1995)
[59] The one exception is that Lower Nine residents go to St. Bernard Parish for grocery shopping – a necessity particularly post-Katrina when grocery stores have been hesitant to return to the Lower Nine.

such as what happened during Hurricane Katrina, has different connotations because so much of their sense of security and perception of their own ability to survive is geographically rooted. One activist stated that being permanently displaced to Atlanta or to Houston would be far tougher because he knew how to survive in the town where he came from and he knew where to find resources in the neighborhoods that he grew up in.

This issue of boundedness is critical for understanding how black and white residents perceive their own mobility within the city's racial landscape as a whole. On the one hand, black mobility has historically been linked to ideas of survival and freedom (Cohen, 1991; Wilkerson, 2010). Mobility for blacks signified freedom from spatially oppressive tactics and legal constraints and most likely signified emotional freedom from the spaces of segregation and apartheid as well. Today, this perception of mobility has in some ways become entrenched into planning and development policies, including deconcentrating poverty or Moving to Opportunity programs that work to move "low-income families from poverty-stricken urban areas to low-poverty neighborhoods" (HUD, 1992). While empirical findings indicate that these policies have, at best, mixed-results for low-income and often black families, particularly in terms of their displacement from critical socio-economic networks (Goetz, 2003), the idea of moving blacks and low-income families out of their neighborhoods seems firmly entrenched in urban planning's own ontological ideas of mobility and opportunity.

However, this research indicates that the issue and salience of mobility have changed since the days of overt spatial apartheid in the U.S. and that blacks now draw upon or use space (albeit once legally segregated spaces and even impoverished places) to reconstitute a positive racial identity by using the economic, social, and environmental resources at hand, including their emplaced social and racial networks. Blacks therefore use space for their survival (economic, social, emotional, political) and ultimately, to reconceive of their own freedom from the continued systemic inequalities they face. Blacks' changing perception of mobility in these cases is one that draws upon their nativity (highly emplaced nativity rates in New Orleans' neighborhoods), their emplaced histories, and their use of time (history) and space. For black residents in the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme, nativity is critical to their sense of locating themselves and perceiving themselves to be taken care of. Additionally, black residents' focus on history across these cases indicates that they view displacement from their racially emplaced histories as a critical deterrent to their survival. Finally, black residents' use of history in the present constructs their interpretations of the present

(i.e. their mistrust of local planners and developers to protect their territories) and their interpretations of future possibilities (i.e. their non-denigrated socio-spatial identities help construct their narratives for action). Blacks' perceptions of mobility are perhaps at odds with planning and developments' remedies for inequality.

Beyond the issue of mobility, residents' socio-spatial identities in each neighborhood draw upon ideas of the city itself and the perception of the relationship between the city and the city's other neighborhoods. In Lakeview, residents' comparisons to other places are both more overt and more denigrating than found in Treme or the Lower Ninth Ward. As noted above, Lakeview residents' socio-spatial identities, in part, rest upon their denigration of the Lower Ninth Ward's worth within the city as a whole. This narrative places value on Lakeview while denying the same value to the Lower Ninth Ward – even though both neighborhoods are situated relatively equally in terms of topography, level of flooding, and general environmental vulnerability. Lakeview residents, in part, view their place as devalued because the Lower Ninth Ward witnessed so much media attention after Katrina and therefore they are quick to point out their worth as a specifically located geographic place compared with the Lower Nine. This dynamic draws upon both a normalized idea of racial landscapes (white and affluent) and a demonized idea of racial landscapes (black and poor). However, Lakeview residents' narrative also separates them from the city itself and despite public investment in the neighborhood, residents perceive themselves to be ignored by the city – a narrative interestingly found both here and in the Lower Ninth Ward, where it is more "factually" true. The consistency of these narratives across interviews and observations in Lakeview was particularly evident during the latter time this research was undertaken and has perhaps been heightened by the aftermath of Katrina and the overall failures of government in terms of urban redevelopment. However, while Lower Ninth Ward residents are acutely aware of the differences in investment between Lakeview and their own neighborhood, they are less likely to denigrate Lakeview and more likely to denigrate the city's development and planning processes.

For both Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward, the spatial relationality at work in their sense of their socio-spatial identities is less denigrating than in Lakeview. In both Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward, residents rarely, if ever, responded with this type of direct comparisons about the worth of a place. Rather, residents in Treme and the Lower Nine refer to their place in the city as a whole and how their "place" (both racial and physical) came about because of the racialized processes that have lead to such different levels of development and investment. Therefore, rather than relating

themselves to a more affluent neighborhood such as Lakeview, they relate to the larger processes that have created and continue to create and shape their neighborhood's place in the city.

These conflicting views of how space is developed and valued – where black residents point to larger societal forces and whites point to more individualized forces – indicates that blacks and whites have very different socio-spatial ontologies, of which race is a critical part. Further, it indicates that whites and blacks have very different conceptualizations about individualism and its emphasis on self-reliance and independence (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 2008) versus a more communitarian oriented understanding of race and place (Kelley, 2002; Michele Lamont, 1997).

In comparing Lakeview residents' socio-spatial identities with those found in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward, there is a distinct difference between a community-oriented view of space and socio-spatial identity (articulated in the Lower Nine and in Treme) versus an individualized view of space and socio-spatial identity (articulated in Lakeview). While this understanding of blacks' identities as being more community driven and less individualistic is evident in work of such scholars as Harris-Lacewell (2004, 2007), Kelley (1994), and Lamont (1997) and while there is new critical understanding to how the "culture of individualism" constructs whom we blame for their shortcomings (Bellah, et al., 2008), there is less emphasis on space itself as contributing to racial identities within this work. This research suggests that this community-oriented racial identity is rooted in and reflected in space – both in how residents interpret space and in how they try to restructure space. Further, the differences evident across these neighborhoods, particularly between white and black residents' narratives about their socio-spatial identities, indicates that while planning and normative urban development policies over-emphasize growth and economic development and often ignore the deeply rooted socio-economic networks and relationships evident in black communities, blacks' use space to resist hegemony and construct geographies where they can survive and be free from domination.

Conclusion

In Chapter 6, I argued that blacks' spatial epistemologies are be characterized as being rooted in memory and history; they are interpretive and diagnostic, overtly political and therefore transformative. They elevate the experience of the city and the spaces of the city as being shaped by race and racial discrimination. My findings in the Lower Ninth Ward suggest that blacks' spatial epistemologies are also resilient and, in contrast to whites' individualized spatial epistemologies, blacks' visions are community-oriented.

Their resiliency I think relies on their duality or double-consciousness (Du Bois, 1994), as I noted in the section above. They use history and memory to challenge how the city and its neighborhood spaces get structured and they view this fight as an ongoing struggle within which they are critical actors. Lower Ninth Ward residents have a comprehensive view of land that can sustainably help support the community's social, economic, and cultural life. I noted above that these visions should be considered as spaces of resistance and protest – alternatives to the hegemonic and abstract spatial visions of planning, and what Lefebvre calls "representational spaces" (1991). James Tyner (2007, p. 219) similarly argues that these spaces of resistance expose, confront and reverse the abstract ordering of space and therefore refuse its paradigmatic restructuring of the urban environment. The Lower Nine's aspirations for development challenge the view that land is divested of economic AND racial overtones.

Further, in contrast to whites' overemphasis on the visual and Euclidean order, blacks' spatial epistemologies should be seen as intricately relative. What goes on in one neighborhood affects all others. In contrast to the white gaze that says, "there is nothing down here", blacks in the Lower Nine say there is a vibrant and beautiful place down here, a "black radical space", a revolution they are working to realize (Lefebvre, 1991; J. A. Tyner, 2007).

Chapter 8
The Geographical Imagination

Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land it the basis of freedom, justice, and equality. – Malcolm X[60]

It all comes down to a point that is as simple as it is terrible... This is our land that we don't own... *We have sweat equity in Harlem... We have paid for it with our blood...* - Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts[61]

Every subordinate group creates, out of its ordeal, a "hidden transcript" that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant. The powerful, for their part, also develop a hidden transcript representing the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly avowed. A comparison of the hidden transcript of the weak with that of the powerful and of *both* hidden transcripts to the public transcript of power relations offers a substantially new way of understanding resistance to domination... Since ideological resistance can grow best when it is shielded from direct surveillance, we are led to examine the social sites where this resistance can germinate. – James C. Scott[62]

Introduction

In Radical Space: Building the House of the People, Margaret Kohn (2003) takes up two critical questions regarding the significance of place for politics and whether shared physical spaces contribute to transformative political thought. Kohn argues that space contributes to the conceptualization of an "alternative social order" (2003, p. 2) and, in her study of the Circolo ARCI (the headquarters of the Italian Communist Recreational Association) as a site of political resistance, she finds that space has symbolic as well as pragmatic meanings and functions and that it preserves collective histories, reproduces power relations, makes visible a "set of social and political tactics" and "helps forge communities by enabling and constraining the ways in which people come together" (2003, pp. 2-6). Kohn's work aligns with critical theories of black geographies that show how space is implicated in ordering social and political worlds and in the counter-hegemonic challenges to this social ordering (Haymes, 1995; Kelley, 2002; McKittrick & Woods, 2007; Schein, 2006; J. Tyner, 2006). Although Kohn overlooks the importance of race as a critical aspect of social ordering and experiences in space, scholars working in this field emphasize the salience of race and physical or geographical space in shaping blacks' understanding of the world around them and their ability to use space to forge community. As noted in the previous chapter, James Tyner (2007, p. 219) argues that spaces where blacks resist dominant representations of their community, what Lefebvre (1991) calls "representational spaces", expose and confront dominant paradigms that

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[60] Malcolm X, Message to the Grassroots, October 10, 1963
[61] (Rhodes-Pitts, 2011)
[62] (Scott, 1990, p. xii)

make racial experiences invisible and therefore open up the opportunity for a radical reordering and reimagining of the urban landscape.

This chapter draws on the empirical work presented in Chapters 5-7 and considers the liberatory aspects of blacks' spatial epistemologies and argues that space in intrinsic to survival and freedom. I question whether the shared physical spaces explored in this dissertation contribute to the conceptualization of an "alternative social order".[63] Exploring the intersection of the quotes above by Malcolm X and Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts, I argue that while freedom, justice, and equality are about land, we must question the ways in which dominant development models undermine blacks' *sweat equity* – their claims to space and to their own geographical imaginations.

Following such scholars as Schein (2006) and McKittrick and Woods (2007), this chapter considers how landscape works as a "discourse materialized, to normalize and naturalize social and cultural practice, to challenge it" (Schein, 2006, p. 13). More specifically, I contrast the spatial epistemologies of blacks and whites presented in Chapter 5-7 and argue that black spaces provide a critical context for political and psychological resistance to denigration and in doing so, produce alternatives to dominant social and spatial ordering systems that are of critical concern for planners. While Chapter 3 presented a historical analysis of how space has been used to fix social relationships and ordering in the context of New Orleans, Chapters 6-7 show how these same spaces are used for resistance and survival and therefore contribute to the use of space for freedom and self-worth. This juxtaposition between space being used to reproduce and maintain racial inequality and space being used to conceive of alternatives to this type of spatial structuring is central to the work of this chapter, which explores the concept of the geographical imagination. I argue that blacks' geographical imaginations are rooted in their community-oriented worldviews, and spatial practices, but above all in their ability to see the world differently than whites (Du Bois, 1926).

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[63] This chapter represents an effort to question and explore the theoretical implications of the empirical work presented in this dissertation. While the empirical work is itself limited – by the number of interviews, by the sampling of residents, by the scope and nature of the research questions and fieldwork, and by the analysis itself, my hope is that it, in the very least, begins to speak to a deeper understanding of the nature of space, racial experience and power. My concern as a scholar is not only in elevating these voices and trying to present them in a balanced way in order to contribute to the potential of making more just and equitable cities, but also in contributing to a deep terrain of scholars working at this intersection of race, place, and power.

Spatial Epistemologies – The Symbolic and Material Spaces of the City

> The act of making corners, neighborhoods, communities, cities, rural lands, rivers, and mountains sacred is central to their defense and the defense of the communities that love and cherish them...they want to build new homes in places that have barred their entry. They also want to explore and reimagine the politics of place. The realization of these desires can transform the world when these visions are based in traditions that see place as the locations of co-operations, stewardship, and social justice rather than just sites to be dominated, enclosed, commodified, exploited, segregated...(McKittrick & Woods, 2007, pp. 5-6)

> A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space. (Henri Lefebvre, as quoted in J. A. Tyner, 2007, p. 230)

In contrasting blacks' and whites' spatial epistemologies, it is important I think to forefront that the social and cultural work done in black communities as itself a form of making space – a way of building and defending, loving and cherishing community and self (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, pp. 5-6). Margaret Kohn argues that "sites that provided an opportunity to encounter new people and ideas, to communicate controversial theories under conditions of relative security, and to experiment with new identities" (2003, p. 12) contribute to the use of space for resistance to political and social hegemony. Although Kohn's approach emphasizes the interactions between "new people and ideas" in space, the work of scholars such as May (2001) and Kelley (2002) and other black geography scholars suggests that in the U.S., because of its history of denigration and discrimination, black communities – where blacks are dominant within one spatial or geographic location- provide the space not so much for *new ideas* but counter ideas, experiences, and aspirations and that elevate "centrality of race" (May, 2001, p. 7). Toni Morrison (2004) argues that these spaces protect blacks and provide them with a safe place to access their grief - the *security* to express and make sense of these experiences. As I argued in Chapter 7, we can think of black spaces – at the neighborhood scale and at the scale of the tavern and barbershops, as providing a *subsidy* (Harris-Lacewell, 2007*)* for elevating and making sense of these racial experiences and for contextualizing and validating these experiences. We can also think of these spaces as shielding blacks from the dominant white gaze "since ideological resistance can grow best when it is shielded from direct surveillance" (Scott, 1990, p. xii).

In contrast to this, we might think of white spaces in the city as spaces where their racial privilege is normalized. As I argued in Chapter 5, while whites' spatial epistemologies are bounded to white

affluent space (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000), their emphasis on the visual realm not only devalues the salience of racial experiences, but also undermines the ways in which blacks struggle in and for space. Whites' overly descriptive and rationalized worldviews not only naturalize a worldview that ignores race, they limit the ways in which blacks can respond to oppression and make black spaces vulnerable to redevelopment (Haymes, 1995). And because they devalue race as a valid experience, whites' spatial epistemologies also undermine blacks' understanding of their own racial experiences and that, as the dominant development narrative, they symbolically and materially erode the types of land and community claims we saw in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward.

In contrast, I have argued that blacks' spatial epistemologies are shaped by their experience of race in the city and that they are characterized by being rooted in memory and history. They interpret and diagnose how the city is shaped by economic AND racial difference. Blacks' in this study view space as contested and vulnerable, but also the site of liberation and they challenge their denigration (as black communities and as black bodies) by resisting dominant narratives and reinterpreting the urban landscape. However, before considering further how blacks use space for liberation, there are some important contrasts between these spatial epistemologies that I want to focus on – Centrality versus Vulnerability; The Visual Order and the White Gaze; Individualism versus Community-Centered epistemologies; and The Presence (or lack thereof) of the Past.

Centrality and Vulnerability – Discursive Categories and Spatial Epistemologies

While race and privilege shape residents' in all three neighborhoods interpretations of the relationships between their community with the city as a whole[64], blacks and whites interpret and interpret and use their own geographic, psychological, and political centrality (or lack thereof) differently. For instance, despite being located at the furthest western and northern boundaries of Orleans Parish (Figure 3), white residents in Lakeview emphasized the centrality of their neighborhood to the city as a whole and to the adjacent (predominantly white) suburbs. Comparatively, black residents in Treme emphasized their neighborhood as the heart of the city (in a literal and a social sense) whereas black and white residents in the Lower Ninth Ward emphasized the remoteness of their neighborhood, calling it "country in the city". Lower Ninth

[64] In Chapter 5, I argued that despite ignoring race as an active component of how space in the city is structured, Lakeview residents' discussions about their place in the city are structured by their racial privilege.

Ward residents interviewed in this dissertation also perceived their geographic location to be defined or bounded by the predominantly white parish located just east of their neighborhood.

However, the contrast between Treme and Lakeview residents indicates that geographic location does not fully explain one's perception of one's centrality within the city as a whole and shows that one interprets their geographic location to have specific meanings for one's racial identity. Whereas Treme residents understand themselves and their neighborhood to be the historical, cultural, and social heart of the city, they are also quick to point out that they are spatially or geographically vulnerable because of past and present investment strategies that seek to increase the economic value of their neighborhood and potentially displace and uproot their community. In other words, Treme residents highlight their contradictory experience of the city by commenting on both their vulnerability to land development and their centrality to the city's culture and history. While they interpret their geographic centrality from an acknowledgement of how race has been used to structure the city's material spaces and demographic outcomes, they also interpret their psychological and political security from an acknowledgement of their inherent vulnerability. This contrast is I think, important because we can see here how blacks have to be kind of "schizophrenic" in order to interpret their place in the city and create something from their circumstances and diagnosis of how the world works.[65]

We should think of this *schizophrenia* not only as a type of duality, a point I return to below, but also as a form of and reaction to oppression (Du Bois, 1994; Haymes, 1995; Scott, 1990). By this I mean that blacks are responding to and are shaped by the condition of oppression – their narratives articulate why they are vulnerable (their claims to their land in the city are vulnerable because their emotional and cultural ties are trumped by an emphasis on market values), but they also illuminate the ways in which their cultural and emotional ties to land are silenced by dominant development paradigms. However, we should think of their vulnerability as a type of strength and resilience because they can uncover and diagnose the contradictions and tensions of urban development paradigms and they can imagine new possibilities or hold onto their selves (Scott, 1990).

Comparatively, whites in Lakeview emphasized that their geographic vulnerability was short-lived after Katrina and that their economic investments have helped them secure their place in the city

[65] J. Phillip Thompson, Personal Communication, August 17, 2012

and their centrality to the city's economic livelihood. These comparisons between blacks and whites indicate that blacks understand their geographic location or geographic tenure to be inherently vulnerable and contested, based on their interpretation of historical and current development epistemologies whereas whites' perceptions of geographic vulnerability are far shorter lived and therefore temporary. Further, whites emphasis on *economic investments* obfuscates the cultural and emotional types of investments that blacks have made in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward. In part, these differences are highlighted by blacks and whites' different diagnostic frameworks - blacks connect their vulnerability to wider social and economic development processes that have traditionally excluded or denigrated their community while whites deny that these larger development processes shape the city unequally. Beyond this, blacks interpret the urban landscape through the lens of their racial experiences and their comments indicate that they view the urban landscape as essentially raced. This view aligns with that of many scholars whose empirical and theoretical work emphasizes the role of space in racial formation. "Racial processes take place and racial categories get made, in part, through cultural landscapes" (Schein, 2006, p. 6). In the empirical work presented in this study, race, for black residents, is an underlying factor in how the city gets structured and its resources distributed spatially and being raced, they are essentially vulnerable to normalized white privilege and its spatial and development epistemologies.

However the perception of centrality is one of the important white discursive categories that reproduce power relationships by offering whites a worldview in which space is reified into discrete and non-related parcels (Dwyer & John Paul Jones, 2000, p. 212) and in which space and time become conjoined to naturalize unequal development. Lakeview residents' perceptions of their own centrality and relative security, or their work to ensure their geographic security through boundary work such as crime patrols and geographically delineated investment (i.e. the proposed streets maintenance district), naturalize a spatial worldview that ignores race as a contributing factor to urban experience and inequality and ignores historical and current inequalities in distribution and privilege. By undermining these narratives regarding race and inequality as they are spatially experienced (and therefore relational to whites' geographic privilege), this spatial epistemology promotes a type of geographic privilege that is at odds with a relational discursive/interpretive practice that would potentially promote more racial equality through spatial work.

This point was emphasized by black activists in New Orleans interviewed in this study, who noted that despite their population majority, and despite the political power locally attained by blacks, voicing the issue of race and city development once blacks achieved positions of power was not acceptable. So even though blacks have achieved a healthy middle-class in New Orleans and local political power, this power continues to be shaped by racial oppression. In a city where blacks are the majority in terms of population and have had great levels of political representation in the form of councilpersons, direct political appointments, and mayors, this issue would seemingly be different. However, narratives that ignore race as a critical issue of difference dominate political power, even when achieved by local black residents (Thompson, 2006). Residents say that the issue of race gets undervalued and undermined because blacks that achieve power are cautious of "minding their manners" in not bringing up race as a salient issue. Similarly, one black activist noted that while blacks have achieved "positions of power, they have not achieved power."

Further, as Crutcher found in Treme, "from the gentrifiers and preservationists who seek to maximize profit, location, and aesthetics we see the normalization of the discourse that black experiences and histories as embodied in the landscape are expendable" (Crutcher, 2006a, p. 35). In part, the planning practice tends to favor these discursive categories and spatial epistemologies that deny the relational and temporal nature of urban development and racial equality because it over-emphasizes the descriptive differences between communities, rather than emphasizing the root causes of urban inequalities.

To view one's own centrality and to understand one's own privilege as being unrelated to others' denigration is I think, one of the major differences between whites' and blacks' experiences in the city and one that allows for the continuation of development approaches that condone displacement in the name of economic advancement.

The Visual Order and the White Gaze

Beyond viewing land as essentially raced or not, there were other distinct differences between how blacks and whites in this study viewed land and urban development. We saw in Chapters 5-7 that while whites in Lakeview emphasized their view of land as being dominated by its economic meaning or worth, residents and activists in Treme and the Lower Nine emphasized land as having emotional, historical, political, and cultural meanings. Importantly, whites in Lakeview also emphasized an individualistic spatial epistemology (see below), which focused on increasing

individual property values through the types of community boundary work noted in Chapter 5, but also through their expectations that residents will maintain and improve the visual quality of individual properties and their expectations that neighbors who "don't share the same values" or "don't keep their property up" will harm their own property values.

While these views of cleanliness and visual order are interesting, they cannot be interpreted here solely through a racial lens, as Mary Pattillo's work on black middle-class neighborhoods and their community emphasis on visually maintaining front yards shows this also to be a class issue (2000). No doubt, there are internal grumblings in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward about individual property maintenance, although these were not emphasized in interviews with residents in these neighborhoods. The differences that I did find in interviews and observations with regards to this issue of property maintenance that fell along racial lines were residents' emphasis on blighted properties. Whereas blight is an issue across the city[66], residents interviewed in Lakeview did place more emphasis on the issue of blight as one of the main detriments to their community's recovery than did residents interviewed or observed in the Lower Nine or Treme.

Still, the idea of visual order does play out differently in each of these communities, highlighting differences in residents' spatial epistemologies. For instance, respondents in Lakeview emphasized a Euclidean understanding of and aspirations for spatial development by proposing stricter delineations between land uses. This more Cartesian or abstract ordering of the urban landscape divides space into discrete categories and prescribes appropriate activities and people into space - *marking who belongs where.* These *representations of space* are for Lefebvre (1991) the dominant spaces in society and the divisions they represent not only become naturalized and normalized but are also tightly controlled and regulated (J. Tyner, 2006, pp. 63-64) and separate and define the relationship between subject and object (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 41). This regulatory work is, in part, the norm of planning practice and dominates the spatial work being undertaken in Lakeview.

In contrast, Lower Ninth Ward and Treme residents and activists emphasized the potential of space for challenging normalized spatial distinctions and hegemonic controls (Lefebvre, 1991; J. Tyner,

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[66] Blight, a problem across the city and more prevalent in low-income minority neighborhoods, was only exacerbated by Katrina. While numbers of blighted properties are down from over 65,000 in 2008 to under 45,000 in 2010 (Plyer & Ortiz, 2010), this issue still remains a more concentrated issue in neighborhoods like the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme.

2006). These spaces, or what Lefebvre calls *representational spaces* (Lefebvre, 1991), are evident in the spatial practices of second-lining and parading in Treme, in the blurred lines between public and private spaces in both neighborhoods, and in the more spatially varied proposals for community development made by both communities. The differences are important not so much because they represent better or worse ways of organizing space per say but because they represent different epistemological approaches to spatial development and challenge dominant meanings and definitions of space that deny its emotional, psychological, political, economic, and racial undercurrents.

Of course, in planning there has been a turn (in theory) toward the latter spatial product in its criticisms of sprawl (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2000) and in proposals to increase the density and diversity of urban spaces (CNU, 1999; Katz, 1994). While these proposals certainly challenge economically and environmentally costly modes of development, they also impose their own strict controls and ordering on the urban landscape (Marshall, 2000) and overwhelmingly ignore the issue of race and inequality as it is spatially produced and maintained. They exert their own hegemonic control of land with strict design guidelines and the eradication of difference and history (Marshall, 2000). Further, they ignore the varied dimensions of and use of urban land, such as those articulated by Lower Nine and Treme respondents in this study. Therefore while these new urbanist and smart growth proposals may indeed propose a non-Euclidean and more diverse urban setting, they do so at the expense of further inclusion and new spatial epistemologies that view space as the site of contestation and social meaning.

Perhaps most importantly, the emphasis on the visual realm and on visual order in Lakeview and in new development frameworks such as New Urbanism, should be equated with a way of exerting and normalizing a type of dominance on the city. It should be considered in its own way as a type of white gaze or form of oppression that elevates control and order over difference and cacophony. "Whenever space is rendered universal, homogenous, objective, and abstract, place is stripped of its meaning and reduced to location" (Haymes, 1995, p. 90). Further, this epistemological viewpoint devalues spaces like Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward because it views them as expendable or empty. "Seeing and using space as a container...means that events and spaces are conceptually separable and that one is only contingently related to the other. People, things, and processes are not anchored to place – are not essentially and necessarily of a place" (Robert David Sack, as quoted

in Haymes, 1995, p. 92). Blacks spaces in this sense are vulnerable to the white gaze of oppression as it is structured into specific ways of ordering the urban landscape.

Individuals and Communities

There were also stark contrasts to how residents in Lakeview and residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward understood the relationship between individuals, communities and space. In Lakeview, we saw that their individualistic interpretation of the urban landscape reinforces a discrete and non-relational spatial epistemology. This spatial epistemology bases whites' resistance to change on market individualism and relies upon a bootstraps mentality that denies their economic privilege. Their narrative that 'we did this all ourselves' and 'pulled ourselves up by the bootstraps' ignored their own reliance on government investment and aid. Whites in Lakeview not only consistently compared themselves and *what they got* as a community with what residents in the Lower Ninth Ward received (commenting across interviews and observations that they were not getting their fair share), but they also denied that their economic privileges (and the differences between them and Lower Nine residents) better equipped them as a community to successfully rebuild.

On the one hand, during interviews with whites in Lakeview residents emphasized a more individualistic spatial discourse, they nonetheless aspire to a community of like-minded residents who share the same property aesthetics and idea of community. While the emphasis in the Lower Nine and Treme might be slightly different, they are also seeking a like-minded community of residents who participate in the cultural and spatial norms of each place. The difference I found was in Treme and Lower Ninth Ward residents' emphasis on the importance of the black community. Recall that residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward equated the tangible economic and social benefits identified with their emplaced familial and social networks –with their community, rather than due to their own individual efforts. Further, blacks in both communities have "inscribed the landscape with meaning while simultaneously deriving their identity from it (Crutcher, 2006a, p. 33). As such, this survival work and inscription work contributes to residents' and activists' positive racial, or socio-spatial identities, an aspect that relies on the existence and vitality of the black community.

At risk of over-simplifying the internal dynamics and diversity of views in the Lower Nine and Treme, their community-oriented view of urban space does challenge dominant spatial

development approaches that elevate individual choice and economic/equal opportunity. Typically these approaches lead to the displacement and dismemberment of racial communities (Fullilove, 2005). "The loss of land also means a loss of community because if there is no land on which [dominated groups] may assemble, it is no longer possible to develop community" (Alexander Kluge, as quoted in Haymes, 1995, p. 125). Haymes argues, as do blacks in this study, that the loss of black community spaces and the redevelopment of space to fit dominant interests of economic growth, "threatens the very material basis of black public life... is literally deterritorializing the black community" (1995, p. 125).

We can see also that this deterritorialization depoliticizes space and threatens the political representativeness of non-dominant groups. Not only does this threaten a vibrant and contested practice of democracy, it threatens the spaces where, as we have seen, blacks feel safe enough to make sense of and respond to their political world. As Harris-Lacewell (2004) notes, black political ideology is formed and transformed through an oral tradition (Henry, 1990) that happens through everyday acts (Scott, 1990) in the everyday places where blacks can gather together to make sense of their political realities and potentials (Kelley, 1994; May, 2001).

The political dimensions of geographic tenure was first pointed out to me in the Lower Ninth Ward by residents who directly associated the threats to their community with community and racial disempowerment. The "threats felt on all fronts" by residents and activists and against the neighborhood not being allowed to rebuild had political repercussions for residents. Drawing on their historical fight to build, support, and protect their neighborhood – residents felt that to *not rebuild* would mean that they would lose the momentum, narrative, and power that they had built over generations – as a political community. This does not mean that residents feel empowered vis-à-vis the city and the dominant groups in the city, a theme also found across interviews in Treme, but that the loss of what had been built up and fought for represented more than just a loss of personal property – it meant a loss of political worth and emplaced resistance.

Geography and political security are tied up and represented at the level of the neighborhood. Each district elects political representation to the city council and at varying geographic levels, different geographic districts elect political representatives to the state and federal levels. While the focus of this dissertation is at the local level, how the lines are drawn in terms of racial minorities and majorities influences their political representation as black communities. The loss of nearly

120,000 blacks within the city's overall population since 2000 represents a loss of a specific political and historical perspective and interests (Table 2).[67] The loss of the community due to real differences in economic capacities to return and the distribution of funds through rebuilding programs in the Lower Ninth Ward AND the displacement of residents through increased property values and being priced out in Treme all represent not only the loss of their history, culture, and communities (their psychological sense of self worth), but their political power as well. Displacement for both Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward means a loss of politically emplaced power and to be dispersed and to have less power means that you cannot draw upon geographic security as a means of resistance, nor can you draw upon your emplaced black community.

Further, how these spaces get physically redeveloped – often in historically romanticized building styles that imply the architecture of the past community- "constructs the built environment as a medium that monopolizes popular memory by controlling the representation of its own history" (Deutsche, 1991, p. 176) and "silences and marginalizes the popular stories, narratives, and memories of black place making, of black life in the city" (Haymes, 1995, p. 125). Of Treme and the Lower Nine, we can see this physical reconstruction of place most in the redevelopment of the Lafitte and Iberville public housing developments that take their cue from historical Treme architectural styles while constructing entirely new social and racial spaces. This approach is typical of New Urbanist and dominant development approaches (HUD) and criticisms directed toward these schemes emphasize the loss of emplaced minority communities and the social and economic benefits that residents there receive from these communities (Goetz, 2003). Although it is difficult to untangle the repercussions of public housing redevelopment from the general effects of redevelopment in the wake of Katrina, my own findings align with the other studies about the critical potential loss of the black community in New Orleans. An over-emphasis on individualism undermines the benefits of emplaced community networks – it displaces them symbolically and physically from the spaces of the city.

The Presence (or lack thereof) of the Past

As we have seen, whites' spatial epistemologies places less emphasis on historically emplaced inequalities and in negating history, denies blacks' their historical understanding of how the city functions, or does not function. Whites deny the legacy of racial and economic inequality as directly

[67] This argument is not intended to present racial political interests as uniform, rather to contribute to the argument that for racial minorities, political security is intrinsically connected to place.

shaping the spaces of the city (and they use their trope of individualism to justify this narrative). In describing the Lower Ninth Ward as having "nothing down there" they are denying that 1) the Lower Nine had unequal resources prior to Katrina, 2) that this inequality was perpetuated by funding mechanisms like the Road Home program and planning proposals, and 3) that their own contradictory definitions of fair distribution would contribute to the persistence of inequality. We should see these narratives as presuming equality and therefore denying the historical ways that the black community has been deterritorialized and oppressed.

This practice of denying history should be seen as acting at both the symbolic and material levels and a way of restructuring space to meet the needs of dominant white culture. For instance, it symbolically invalidates blacks' spatial epistemologies that draw on and use the presence of the past to validate their fears over current redevelopment schemes. By denying how racism has structured the city, whites therefore deny the ways this structuring persists in space. It denies the ways in which government and planning have developed and assisted some communities while ignoring others. By denying these historical narratives symbolically, whites' spatial epistemologies work to restructure the city materially and therefore potentially erode the material basis for black public life and solidarity. In other words, if we don't see these black communities as historically critical to black social and public life, then we easily condone the removal and displacement of these communities.

In contrast, the consistent historical narrative present in interviews and observations in Treme and the Lower Nine should be seen as a strategic way for blacks to overcome inequality. We saw in both cases that the *presence of the past* not only validated their fears, but also was a source of pride and resilience, thus contributing to blacks' positive and non-denigrated identities. Their memories are critical reminders of how society is structured, as well as a source of power. As one activist noted, their emplaced memories help them survive.

Spaces of Symbolic and Material Liberation

> We don't want to be integrationists. Nor do we want to be separationists. We want to be human beings. Integration is only a method that is used by some groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality, and respect as human beings. Separation is only a method that is used by other groups to obtain freedom, justice, equality, or human dignity...Our people have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives...We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. - Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet", April 3, 1964[68]

> I would like to challenge people to think differently about strategies of shaping the future of cities. We are faced with a struggle for land and a struggle for the mind....if we win the struggle for the mind, then we will win the struggle for the land. – Mel King[69]

I noted in my Introduction and throughout this research that I have increasingly relied on Du Bois' conceptualization of blacks' double-consciousness as a frame for interpreting blacks' spatial epistemologies. "Such a double life with double thoughts, double duties, and double social classes, must give rise to double words and double ideals, and tempt the mind to pretense or revolt, to hypocrisy or radicalism" (Du Bois, 1994, pp. 221-222). Du Bois argues that while blacks can understand their oppression, they can also conceive of their liberation and I have argued throughout this research that to do so, they draw on their distinct spatial epistemologies – which are distinctly racial though informed by class.[70] The quotes above by Malcolm X and Mel King emphasize the relationship between the struggle over the symbolic and material landscape (Haymes, 1995, p. 109). If space is the site of domination and assimilation, then it is also the site of liberation and the place where radical subjects not only resist and oppose hegemony, but also where they conceive of and work to build "alternative habits of being" (hooks, 1990, p. 15). bell hooks argues that traditionally, the construction of a *homeplace* has had two meanings; it is a space of healing and protection from racial aggression and the site of radical political struggle, of resistance and liberation (hooks, 1990, pp. 41-49). I want to focus here on the liberatory potential of black spaces and argue, as hooks and Haymes (1995, pp. 136-137) do, that blacks' spatial epistemologies introduce new conceptual and spatial frameworks, new goals and aspirations regarding the struggle over land and the meaning of the city.

If whites' spatial epistemology or worldview promotes continued geographic and economic privilege, which interestingly has little to do in the cases presented here with environmental

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[68] (Malcolm X, 1965)
[69] (King, 1991, p. 1)
[70] J. Phillip Thompson, Personal Communication, August 17, 2012

security or privilege, what then in blacks' spatial epistemology contributes to a non-denigrated and potentially liberatory worldview? In other words, what in blacks' spatial practices and ways of being in the urban world contribute to their community's resistance and survival and to their resilience and self-worth, despite historical and current denigration and devaluation of their spatial claims?[71] How do blacks in this study make this discursive and interpretive leap between survival and self-worth, and what does this say about space's liberatory potential?

As we saw in Chapter 6-7, blacks in both Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward use the urban landscape for their own social and economic survival. For instance, Lower Ninth Ward residents have traditionally used the land as an economic strategy to supplement their income and Treme residents have used the spaces of their neighborhood for political and cultural strategies such as parading, second lining and masking. Further, urban space itself and the urban development patterns present in each of these communities have contributed to their socio-spatial practices, such as stoop sitting and making the block. In Treme in particular, blacks actually physically constructed these neighborhood spaces and the overall urban development pattern (NOMA, 2002). Blacks in both communities use these discursive tactics and make use of space to ameliorate the economic and social inequalities they face.

In comparison with whites, who tended to ignore historical trends and meanings as relative to their present spatial epistemologies in the interviews and observations conducted in this study, blacks' responses indicate that they use time and history to make the interpretive leap between their history of resistance and survival to their understanding of themselves as resilient and even radical black subjects with a different socio-spatial consciousness. The *presence of the past* is critical to blacks' diagnosis of the way the city works and the way that they function and survive within this larger construct. By making both discursive and interpretive connections between their landscape and the larger societal constructs and urban landscape, blacks in Treme and the Lower Nine are able to diagnose the causes of their inequalities and use space as a site of resistance to challenge these inequalities and the internalization of denigration. As one local activist commented, these connections provide the evidence of urban inequality and of blacks' spatial struggles. "Everything

[71] Although the singular is used here, I in no way want to imply that there is a uniform or solidified black spatial epistemology. For the sake of simplification here, I use the singular and have analyzed the data across these two black communities to understand what they have in common in terms of their ways of understanding the urban world.

has to be proven. We know this shit, but always have to prove it based on ways of measuring in the dominant culture."

Importantly, while black's spatial epistemologies are rooted in an understanding of space as being both a container of history, culture, and meaning, they are also rooted in a dynamic understanding of space in which they view space as a site of resistance and as constituting their own racial identities. This indicates that for blacks interviewed in this study, space is relational and dynamic, rather than discrete and non-relational. We can see this in this epistemology in blacks' descriptions of their vulnerability and in their descriptions of their spatial resistance as being a determinant of their resilience over time. However, blacks in this study also conceptualize space differently than did whites, focusing in their responses and in their community planning work on rebuilding space to meet their cultural, spiritual, and community needs.

This dynamic understanding of space is reinforced in scholarly work on the production of black spaces. By studying the geographic implications of resistance and struggle and by locating "the imperative of a perspective of struggle" (Sylvia Wynter, as quoted in McKittrick, 2006, p. xi), this empirical work challenges the perception that space "just is" and that "space and place are merely containers for human complexities and social relations...If space and place appear to be safely secure and unwavering, then what space and place make possible...can potentially fade away" (McKittrick, 2006, p. xi). By understanding space to be dynamic and socially produced and by understanding space to have physical as well as metaphorical meaning (McKittrick, 2006), blacks in this study and in the studies of scholars like McKittrick (2006) and Crutcher (Crutcher, 2006a, 2006b), navigate and use space to construct their oppositional worldviews and challenge hegemony – they use space as the site, discourse, and tactical approach of their resistance and struggle. Interestingly, they have managed, to some extent, to use planning tools to oppose development proposals and to conceive of new spaces and new spatial frameworks.

Space therefore is the site of blacks' duality– their diagnosis of urban inequality and their conceptualization of alternatives (hooks, 1990). Blacks understand their place in the world, or their socio-spatial identities, to be constituted by the duality of reproduced power relations and inequalities AND of resistance and survival to these same strategies. For instance, blacks in the Lower Nine view their isolation as both a product of racial apartheid (disinvestment, environmental vulnerability, and devaluation), yet they also view their isolation as constituting positive socio-

spatial identities of activism and resistance –their perceptions of their own resilience and self worth are spatially produced. While, as one respondent commented that, "place not valued translates to people not being valued," blacks' responses and actions in Treme and the Lower Nine support the idea that while they understand the devaluation of their place in the city, they also struggle to for their own minds and their own identities in space. It is from their history of activism and resistance that blacks and whites in the Lower Nine draw on and reconstitute a positive self-worth, despite the conditions of the space around them. As discussed earlier, blacks in Treme view themselves and their neighborhood as the heart of the city while at the same time understanding their geographic security to be extremely vulnerable to dominant land development practices. Blacks therefore interpret space through the lens of their own history, rather than accept a description of space as defining how they view their local geography. In other words, they convey their own urban meaning, rather than accept the devaluation of their land.

In both cases, blacks' (and Lower Nine whites') spatial epistemologies are interpretive and diagnostic, compared with whites' more rationalistic and descriptive spatial epistemologies. It should be stressed that blacks in Treme and the Lower Nine do not glorify their neighborhoods and they are quick to point out the visible conditions of difference – the poor quality of the streets, the lack of quality infrastructure, the poorer condition of housing, the lack of schools and urban amenities such as local grocery stores. They draw comparisons with other parts of the city that have such amenities in order to prove the discrepancies in spatial development. However, blacks in both communities don't accept the visible condition of their neighborhood as the only indicator of their community's worth and they understand these visible differences between their neighborhood and others in the city to be a product of larger economic and social processes, rather than the fault of individual homeowners.

Blacks' spatial epistemology is rooted in this duality and the tensions between vulnerability and security. Because blacks understand that part of the role of space is to act as a container of their history and culture they understand that geographical tenure contributes to their cultural and historical meanings and realities, as well as to their economic and social wellbeing. If space preserves collective histories (Kohn, 2003), it also then acts to recognize and validate their racial experiences, in spite of dominant discursive practices that deny the continued importance of racially emplaced inequalities and the relationship between spatial privilege and disadvantage. As noted in Chapter 7, Lower Ninth Ward white's recognition of blacks' narratives about the continued

salience of race in shaping urban experiences provides critical recognition and validation of these experiences – it contributes to blacks' psychological security because it challenges the dominant narrative that race no longer matters in shaping urban experience. But beyond whites' recognition of their racial experiences, blacks' in this study viewed their experiences through a racial lens and in emphasizing this point across interviews they critiqued dominant white spatial epistemologies that ignore the relationship between geographic security and community resilience in the face of inequality.

Beyond the interpretive and diagnostic roots to their spatial epistemologies, blacks in this study use everyday spaces to constitute their socio-spatial identities and, in doing so, blur the line between public and private. Both of these themes are underemphasized in research. For instance, Kohn (2003) emphasizes the monumental, organized gathering space that embodied the ideas of a movement of resistance. Further, much scholarly work has focused on the importance of the public realm for contributing to social relations (Low, 2000). However, a clear line between public and private is absent in both Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward and blacks in both communities understand their personal and public lives to be shaped by race and their everyday experiences. For instance, although blacks do rely on organized spaces (such as churches and community centers) for their organizing work, they also build the relationships that are the foundations of this work in the everyday places like street corners, community bars and music halls, and porches or stoops. This spatial practice contributes to a blurred line between public and private life because its in these semi-private spaces that many residents in Treme and the Lower Nine build their shared understanding of their history and their place in the city. This narrative was absent in interviews with Lakeview residents who emphasized a strict division between public and private space and their public and private lives. Lower Nine and Treme residents and activists interviewed emphasized how much the informal everyday spaces contribute to their community attachment and development, as well as their positive sense of self.

This indicates not only that the line between private and public are blurred within blacks' spatial epistemologies, but that informal spaces contribute to their way of viewing the world as much as the formal gathering spaces. This blurring of public and private spaces (and the urban development repercussions it poses) is rooted in the historical use of private space as a shied from racial discrimination and aggression and as a "crucial site for organizing" (hooks, 1990, p. 47). This

spatial epistemology then inherently views all space as political and all urban space (public and private) to be the site of political struggle.

This research indicates that there are strong differences between the spatial epistemologies present in the white community and the two predominantly black communities in this study.[72] Whites interviewed in this study conveyed a non-relational, hierarchal spatial epistemology that denies history and race, relies on descriptive techniques, and naturalizes inequality. Blacks interviewed in this study on the other hand conveyed a spatial epistemology that incorporates seemingly conflicting dualities, that is relational and dynamic, interpretive and diagnostic, and that is employed in the everyday spaces and blurs the line between private and public. Blacks' spatial epistemology explains how we might conceive of the relationship between their use of space for resistance and survival and their use of space to create a socio-spatial identity of resilience and self-worth, despite denigration and inequality and despite a dominant white spatial epistemology that denies their relational understanding of the world. As the quote from Mel King at the beginning of this section states, this spatial epistemology is about the relationship between struggle for the mind and the struggle for land (1991, p. 1) – the struggle for symbolic and material equality.

Freedom and the Geographical Imagination

> If, in moving through your life, you find yourself lost, go back to the last place where you knew who you were, and what you were doing, and start again from there. - Bernice Johnson Reagon[73]
>
> Space is not inherently liberatory (Kohn, 2003, p. 23).

In 2010, the New Orleans African American Museum, located in Treme, held an exhibit entitled, "Drapetomania: A Disease Called Freedom," which focused on a 19th century mental disease that caused slaves to run away from their captivity (NOAAM, 2010). The exhibit highlighted artifacts and objects used to secure the slave trade in response to this *disease of freedom*. Although

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[72] There is obviously much more nuance than a simple comparison or contrast between blacks and whites. In part, work on black middle class spaces, such as Mary Pattillo's work (Pattillo, 2007; Pattillo-McCoy, 2000), emphasizes this nuance. My intent is not to negate this complexity but to convey some of the racial differences exhibited in the cases presented in this study. As both the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme are predominantly poorer neighborhoods compared with Lakeview or New Orleans East (the middle-class black neighborhood in New Orleans), my hope is that I can bring much needed attention to the continued salience of race as a spatial matter (McKittrick, 2006). While a more complex analysis that accounts for this class-based nuance and even the nuance between blacks and Creoles was out of the scope of this research, future research that analyzes, for example, the contrasts between Treme and New Orleans East activists and residents would add to our understanding of this complexity.

[73] (As quoted in Stack, 1996)

obviously a pseudoscientific disease used in the name of racial oppression, the exhibit raised critical questions regarding the mechanisms used to prohibit freedom and equality and how science was used to naturalize and rationalize the enslavement of a categorized group of people. Even though this exhibit focused on past mechanisms, it is important that it took place in the Treme community, the historical home of freed slaves and Free People of Color. Further, it provides an interesting framework for how freedom is understood in the context of the 21st century urban centers. In particular, it draws our attention to the connections between freedom as a political right and the mechanisms in place that continue to ensure structures of racial inequality (Singh, 2004). Further, it draws our attention to the connections between freedom and space. Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that blacks' experiences and spatial knowledge are qualitatively different than whites' spatial experiences and knowledge and that blacks' spatial epistemologies acknowledge and structure the world around their racially emplaced experiences. Blacks' *justified beliefs*[74] draw on past events and trends that include their own lived experiences of racism and the stories handed down to them by past generations. In this section, I wish to explore how blacks' spatial epistemologies give rise to a worldview that is more inclusive and community-oriented in its ordering and that legitimizes spatial knowledge and experience – a worldview that connects freedom with new spatial frameworks.

While freedom can be defined as the absence of restraint or the liberation from slavery, it is often viewed as a political right. Despite the use of space to restrict freedom, it is often under-theorized as a spatial construct or as having spatial determinants. And although enslavement and overt racially discriminatory practices such as Jim Crow that limited freedom in space are no longer practiced in the U.S., the legacy of racial and emplaced inequality is still evident in cities. Here I am using the term freedom to employ not only the political dimensions of freedom, but also the psychological and geographical dimensions of freedom. Blacks in the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme would likely argue that space and race are still so conjoined that to think about space as being "free" would deny the legacy of their vulnerability to dominant spatial epistemologies. My argument is that freedom (political, psychological, and geographical) is bound up in the spatial project in which

[74] I use epistemology here as the study of knowledge or justified beliefs and have tried in this dissertation to explore the differences and similarities between blacks' and whites' worldviews and the sources and structures of these worldviews. My use of the term ontological in this section refers to the study of reality or what can be said to exist. Traditionally used metaphysically, this term also relates to how things can be grouped or related. My use of the phrase spatial ontology is referencing the potential of challenging social and racial hierarchies in space and of problematizing traditional urban planning's narrow spatial work that reinforces these inequalities in space.

urban planning takes part. However, I also argue that planning's spatially liberatory policies, such as deconcentrating poverty and some economic development schemes, are inherently biased toward a particular spatial epistemology that denies the salience of racial inequality.

The notion of freedom is bound together in the U.S. with a notion of equality and the guarantee of equal rights, a framework that fails to account for how planners and policy makers might deal with vast inequalities in an "equal" economic and social system. As I noted earlier, there is a presumption of equality that underlies whites' spatial epistemologies. Many theorists have struggled with this dilemma of how to enable more equality while at the same time allowing for difference and the type of boundary work that encodes difference into space. For instance, in an effort to protect groups in their spatial formations or enclave groupings, scholars such as Peter Marcuse (2005) and Iris Marion Young (1990) argue for the allowance of ethnic and racial enclaves, defining these in opposition to racial ghettos. I argued in Chapter 2 that this viewpoint obscures unequal power to self-segregate. While this work importantly allows for racial grouping and critiques the extreme inequalities found in racial ghettos, what is missing in these arguments is a normative discussion about inequality and the role of space in perpetuating inequality AND potentially liberating non-dominant groups from the continued repercussions of economic, social, and environmental inequality. My own findings suggests that to consider how different non-dominant groups understand their place in the city and use space offers planners and policy makers a different lens through which they might make spatial development decisions. In other words, by emphasizing the potentially liberatory aspects of place (as evident in blacks' spatial epistemologies), we might better attend to racially experienced inequalities.

Blacks' conception of free space is far more complex than the assumed equating of political freedom with spatial freedom. Typical development policies, including deconcentrating poverty and economic development strategies aimed at increasing the value of urban land, often displace blacks from the very spaces and places that they rely on.[75] As I have argued from blacks' experiences in this study, displacement erodes their mechanisms for economic and social survival, finding which are highlighted in more recent work that critiques the spatially liberatory programs like

[75] Here I differentiate between displacement and self-selective displacement and focus on the types of displacement typical as a result of gentrification and urban development projects that make certain neighborhoods unaffordable or undesirable to current residents. This issue would of course merit more scrutiny and analysis, particularly because of the nuances present between black activists in New Orleans East who work in for the preservation of the Treme neighborhood and spatial tenure of its blacks residents. However, this analysis was out of the scope of this research.

deconcentrating poverty by highlighting the losses that displaced residents experience (Goetz, 2003). Further, while these policies fail to understand the importance of secure geographic tenure for black communities, they fundamentally rooted in an abstract notion of space that denies its salience for non-dominant identity formation and that denies its relational role in constructing and maintaining social inequality. On the one hand, this relational aspect of spatial development, as highlighted by blacks' spatial epistemologies, raises questions for planners about the distribution of their work across the city. Therefore "equal" policies such as the Road Home program perpetuate spatial inequality by relying upon a framework of assumed equality and devaluation of economic and land inequality. The equal distribution of street maintenance funding to the Lower Ninth Ward and Lakeview also devalues the historically unequal maintenance of streets and public space that was evident in these communities prior to Katrina, but as noted in Chapter 5, Lakeview residents argued that their "fair share" was *at minimum* an equal distribution of funding.

Abstract notions of space ignore how space maintains inequality, i.e. the visible differences in the streets and conditions of public spaces and buildings that are evident in poorer communities. This abstraction however also gives rise to artificially liberatory policies such as the planned redevelopment proposals in Treme, because they negate the relational quality of spatial development and the subjectivity of space. As Dwyer and Jones argue, while modern white socio-spatial epistemologies do not pre-date Cartesian and Euclidean spatial ordering systems, these systems are widely available for whites to construct their spatial authority and to distance their subjectivity (2000, pp. 210-212). The abstract grid and the abstraction from the real life experiences of non-dominant groups in the city allows planners to conceive of space without reference to history and strategy and without reference to its relevance for non-dominant groups.[76] The spatially liberatory policies of moving people around do not generally work for communities such as the Lower Ninth Ward and Treme because they derive their resilience and self-worth in part from their emplaced experiences, because they use space and history to survive, and because the condition of dominance does not change by simply moving to another location.

[76] My focus on non-dominance has been, throughout this dissertation, central to my research questions regarding about racial inequality. However, more work is needed comparing non-dominant groups to further understand how this issue moves beyond race toward other forms of being *raced*, including ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, etc.

Free Spaces

On the one hand, we might theorize that in its spatial determinants, freedom might be conceived of in space based upon its relationship to free social spaces and spaces protected from threats of oppression. Black residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward emphasized the importance of free social spaces, spaces such as bars, neighborhood music joints, community spaces, porches, and streets. Noting that they felt "free" and "safe" in their community, blacks in both communities importantly draw connections between freedom, space, and self-expression, as they are relevant for the formation of their positive socio-spatial identities. For Lower Ninth Ward residents, the loss of these spaces in the wake of Katrina was one of the most devastating aspects of their loss and residents commented that rebuilding these spaces has become some of their most important work. One resident commented that one of the first things she purchased when she returned to her home was a bench for her porch, so that she could get back to her porch and to communicating with residents. Another resident commented that it was important that residents have a place like a bar, café, or restaurant where they could sit causally and be together in their community.

While many of these sites have still to come back in the Lower Nine and while many of these sites are (and have been) changing in Treme, residents and activists in these communities have always used space in more varied ways than the strict delineations typified by Euclidean zoning strategies. For instance, the Backstreet Cultural Museum in Treme is housed in a small shotgun and Mardi Gras Indian costumes, photographs, and memorabilia take up every available wall and floor space. Another wife of a Mardi Gras Indian opened up half of her shotgun home to display her husband's famous costumes. In the Lower Nine since Katrina, there has been an interesting reclaiming of spaces to meet community needs. Residents reclaimed Bayou Bienvenue – literally by clearing a pathway to the bayou and building a viewing and fishing platform there and politically by advocating for its restoration as an environmental asset. One Lower Ninth Ward resident commented that "rediscovering the Bayou" meant so much to folks in the community because "so many folks who are back-a-town relate to that – that was where they used to go growing up." Local non-profit groups have found housing in the back spaces of churches and abandoned warehouses and a local church, now known as St. Walgreens, has relocated to an old Walgreens site.

Another conceptualization of free space can be found in the spatial practice of second-lining (found more in Treme, but also see in the Lower Nine) connects these important neighborhood social spaces (Crutcher, 2006a, p. 33). As Helen Regis states, "parades transform urban space, creating an

alternative social order that private clubs actualize by 'taking it to the streets' in those very neighborhoods ordinarily dominated by the quotidian order of inner-city poverty and spatial apartheid" (1999). In terms of ephemeral spatial practices, residents in the Lower Nine often commented about "making the block" as an important way that they made connections and inhabited their community space. This finding about the importance of free spaces (both static and ephemeral) is supported by substantial scholarly work that focuses on the importance of free speech places for blacks' understanding of and expression of their racial experiences (Harris-Lacewell, 2004; Kelley, 1994; May, 2001) and in theoretical work that connects free space with resistance, opposition, and conceptualizations of alterative social and spatial orders (hooks, 1990).

The spatial development visions in these communities connect community building to the spatial project of liberation. As I argued in Chapter 7, the Lower Nine's redevelopment visions make connections between land and the struggle for equality by linking economic, social, and environmental strategies to sustainable spatial development. In Treme, residents' and activists' spatial visions also make this connection between the struggle for the mind and the struggle for land by connecting the importance of neighborhood sites and spatial practices to their struggle for difference and integrity. In Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination, Robin Kelley states that "we don't need another hall of finance, wealth, and exclusivity; no more symbols of class, power, and privilege. We don't need another gargantuan modern-day mill where some working people slave over mops and vacuum cleaners in the wee hours of the morning, and others over computers and fax machines way past sundown" (Kelley, 2002, p. 196). This study suggests that in cities, we need more spaces that connect the struggle for the mind with the struggle for land - that actualize liberatory practices into space.

Free People

Blacks interviewed in this study emphasized the freedoms that they (and their ancestors) experienced in each community. For instance, Treme residents and activists emphasized the importance of Treme as a community of Free People of Color, a narrative that illuminates the psychological and symbolic meanings of place that residents and activists in Treme draw on. In the Lower Nine, residents commented that this neighborhood was one of the first places their families could freely purchase homes during the early-mid twentieth century when the many neighborhoods were redlined to blacks. The loss of these spaces therefore represents more than nostalgic loss, but a symbolic and material loss of the spaces in which these non-dominant groups

are able to express and explore their urban condition and experiences and take pride in their freedom.

This finding raises critical questions for planners regarding displacement, questions raised by Danielle Allen (Allen, 2004) in her argument concerning the protection of minorities within a democracy. Here, we might consider the spatial dimensions of political representation as critical to Allen's arguments. While there are laws in place to discourage the loss of political representation for minority groups in state redistricting laws, planning's lack of consideration for the political dimensions of space and its lack of programs that counter the potential displacement of gentrification means that planning has largely failed to take up how its spatial work connects to political representation, much less the political representation of minority groups in the city. Yet since both conceptualizations of freedom, the symbolic/psychological and political, are bound up in space and geography, we must conceive of freedom as an inherently spatial project.

Although blacks use space to feel free, they are also aware of how space is used to limit or inhibit their freedom. For instance, blacks in the Lower Nine and Treme commented that their inherent geographic vulnerability was reflective of an economic and development framework that did not value their spatial claims. Treme residents and activists noted that new planning proposals and gentrification that eliminated the nuanced social/physical structure in place in their community and in its pattern of neighborhood bars, restaurants, and corner stores would undermine their spatial and social freedoms. 'Nobody wants bars anymore' one Treme activist noted of her gentrifying neighborhood, worrying that the strong relationship between her community and its bars would be erased and that this would signify the loss of the community's culture and history. Blacks in this study view this devaluation of their spatial claims as inherently discriminatory because spatial displacement displaces them from one of the mechanisms that they have to increase their economic, social, and political power.

Locating Freedom

Beyond the importance of free social spaces and blacks' understanding of themselves as free subjectivities, blacks also have a more nuanced view of their own mobility that liberatory policies such as gentrification and poverty deconcentration suggest. Blacks in both the Lower Nine and Treme commented that their survival is geographically rooted because in knowing their geography, they are able to more freely and overcome economic and social limitations and inequalities. A loss

of the social networks and the place-based navigation that they rely upon means, for residents in these communities, that they will lose their geographic centering and geographically defined way of getting by. Although freedom is usually associated with mobility (Cohen, 1991; Wilkerson, 2010), blacks' nativity and historical connections, as well as their fine-grained knowledge of local networks and use of these networks for economic and psychological benefits makes mobility for blacks a more complex issue than is usually theorized within policies that deny the importance of space. As the quote at the beginning of this section illustrates, there is also a strong call to home that is critical to one's locating oneself, which blacks' in this study, particularly in the Lower Ninth Ward, place emphasis on. One activist interviewed noted that:

> In the African American community, people are very geographical. In addition to being geographical, people downtown don't move uptown, people uptown don't move downtown. I mean they are rooted in those areas. Aside from that, poor people has always understood how to do with less... So when they get more, it's a luxury. But we've always managed to get along with less and less quality because that's how the system works.

His comments, along with others, suggest that being *rooted in place* (Falk, 2004), has important ontological repercussions for blacks in this study – repercussions that keep them from being lost and devalued, that help them cope, and that help them locate their struggle. Further, some residents interviewed in the Lower Nine suggested that blacks' mobility had come full circle – and that their families had made the sojourn from the south to the north and now back to the south. Reclaiming their southern roots and even their agrarian roots in their use of Lower Nine spaces suggests that for these residents, freedom and mobility are also about coming home – a finding confirmed in other studies of the reversal of the Great Migration (Stack, 1996).

Conclusion

While there is ample and valuable scholarly work that prescribes how the urban landscape is inscribed with symbols of economic and symbolic power (Zukin, 1982, 1991), control and order (M. Davis, 1990; Marshall, 2000; Mitchell, 2003), and male dominance (D. B. Massey, 1994; Weisman, 1994), there is less recent critique of the American city as a project of racist ideologies. This study, and the work of scholars in black geography sited throughout this dissertation, suggests that to undertake a nonracist restructuring of the city, we need, at the very least, these free spaces that connect economic, social, environmental, and political wellbeing into place and more critical analysis of the continued interpretations of freedom and mobility.

If blacks in this study use space for their own freedom of expression and positive self-worth and as a means of locating themselves for their economic and social survival, then space itself should be conceived of as playing a critical role in the fight for increased equality and freedom; it should also be conceived of as playing a critical role in inhibiting liberty and increased equality. As Kohn states, "space is an element of politics that can contribute to social changes as well as social control" (2003, p. 15). In the cases presented in this dissertation, spatial development has represented both tendencies. This finding is supported by other scholarly findings regarding blacks' conceptualization of themselves as political actors in space. For instance, Hahn's work on black political struggles in the post-slavery north and south show that even in moving north, blacks' conceived of their struggle as a spatial one and used space to reconstitute themselves as political beings and social communities (Hahn, 2003).

Freedom has always been a spatial project and while political freedom has been secured, domination, denigration, racism, and hegemony still exist – and they are exercised spatially. My argument here is that the spatial epistemologies described by blacks in this study offer a more inclusive, and community-oriented worldview and an alternative to whites' perception of space that is reliant upon an individualistic liberalism and denial of the relational nature of spatial formation. Further, blacks' spatial epistemologies provide planners with a liberatory framework for spatial development, rather than a spatial development framework that focuses on social and economic control. The presentation of the contrasts between whites and blacks is critical for avoiding "universalistic visions of inclusion and opportunity" (Singh, 2004, p. 13) that undermine a racial equality project for new spatial freedoms, but they are also critical for understanding how planners might use spatial development to directly address inequality and validate racial experiences. Critical analytical work is needed in addressing planning's traditional development framework, which assumes spatial liberation through economic development.

Robin Kelley argues that "freedom and love may be the most revolutionary ideas available to us, and yet, as intellectuals we have failed miserably to grapple with their political and analytical importance" (Kelley, 2002, pp. 11-12). I would add that we have failed as planners to conceive of the ways in which blacks' spatial aspirations might help us restructure the city, and it is to this discussion that I now turn.

Chapter 9
Planning for the Cacophony

> Not only is another world possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day I can hear her breathing. - Arundhati Roy

Introduction

The different narratives presented in this study reflect very different worldviews about the worth of a community and for planners, present a host of questions regarding issues of distribution, fairness, and social and racial inequality. Urban development issues, including gentrification and economic development, tend to get framed in simplistic outcomes and with a distributional ideology that benefits the city over its residents. The framing of these issues -the narratives that diagnose and assign blame for these problems- often ignores the types of spatial claims and diagnoses made by black activists interviewed in this dissertation. Planners and policy makers often respond to economic vulnerability by assuming that low-income residents should be moved to areas with greater opportunity (Briggs, 2005, 2006) and increased economic diversity, thereby ignoring the sorts of spatial demands represented by the black communities in this dissertation. Additionally, planning's view that these spaces should be *fixed* or *redeveloped* often obfuscates the types of development that allow for low-income and minority communities to use space to realize alternative spatial ideologies. The narratives presented in this dissertation – which are fundamentally focused on the struggles in and over space – challenge normative ideas about equal opportunity in space. My findings suggest that while space is anything but equal, minority residents creatively use space to overcome the limits of an individualized and capitalist development framework.

Throughout this research, I have argued that there are distinct differences between blacks and whites' spatial epistemologies and that these differences should be considered as contributing to different spatial development strategies. I have argued that whites' spatial epistemologies undermine blacks' spatial claims and that in normalizing a discourse that ignores the salience of race, they reshape the city and erode blacks' discourse that above all else, knows the city to be shaped by racial inequality. Steven Haymes similarly argues that "white consumer culture affects black cultural identity by transforming the public spaces of the black community into private spaces of consumption, into spaces where the market values of individualism, consumption, and competitiveness dominate" (1995, p. 27). If, as Du Bois (1926) argues, blacks can "see America in a

way that white Americans cannot", we should ask how their spatial aspirations and their geographical imaginations might inform a more equitable and just theory and practice of planning and contribute to a more democratic public sphere. In the following chapter, I consider the implications that blacks' spatial epistemologies have for the theory and practice of planning before turning to my conclusions for this research.

Blacks' Spatial Epistemologies and Repercussions for Planning

It is important, I think, to consider how the physical redevelopment or deterritorialization of black communities presents planning with an important set of normative questions. Although residents feel that they have *"sweat equity"* in a place and that they have *'paid for this place with their blood'*, they don't own it (Rhodes-Pitts, 2011). As fitting within an economic development framework that elevates individual economic opportunity, there is little theoretical or practical discussion about the implications of gentrification and displacement for minority and low-income communities. While residents' response to change in these communities are varied and many welcome the increased amenities that come with the economic transformations (Freeman, 2006), residents' have little claim to community ownership. Therefore, places like Treme get remade and re-inhabited without fuller normative considerations of what is lost. I argued in Chapter 2 that we should think of this process as deterritorialization – a framework which forefronts the political disenfranchisement and emotional losses of displacement (Fullilove, 2005; Haymes, 1995).

For planners, part of the dilemma is in reinforcing the dominant spatial epistemology of economic growth at the expense of less economically equipped communities such as the Lower Ninth Ward or Treme. This approach (such as what is being seen in Treme) requires that minorities sacrifice their communities for the greater economic good of the city. Danielle Allen (2004) argues that sacrifice is a critical, yet overlooked dimension of democratic life. Following Ralph Ellison, she notes that we need to "see our comforts as constructed out of the sacrifices of others", we need to "develop criteria for assessing different levels of loss and for distinguishing between reasonable and unreasonable claims" and "develop terms for assessing how significant these sacrifices are" (2004, p. 45). The recognition of sacrifice as an outcome of democracy requires that planners acknowledge that this development framework typically undermines black communities and asks them to sacrifice for the good of the city. The new round of development pressures are in many ways nothing new to Treme residents – "it is history repeating itself". As planners, we should be cognizant of this and analyze the ways in which we are restructuring space to eliminate and erase

the types of vibrancy we see in this community. If we consider how blacks have continually sacrificed for the city, we might then consider whether or not this remains a reasonable or unreasonable request (Allen, 2004).

Mechanisms like community land-banking, while potentially providing some stability to black communities, control the individual's ability to increase their wealth in their private property.[77] Although these are been tested in two communities in New Orleans, including the Lower Ninth Ward[78], it would be reasonable to say that this alternative further limits black individuals at the expense of the community. While this option is more appealing than displacement and the devaluation of black spaces, it does come with its own conditions of sacrifice.

In addition to an overemphasis on market expansion through land development (Harvey, 1985; Logan & Molotch, 1987; Soja, 1989), planning practices perpetuate the spatially emplaced inequalities that exist between communities like the Lower Nine and Treme by absolving themselves of the root causes of underlying inequalities. A distributional program, like the original Road Home funding, perpetuates inequalities by assuming base line individual equality and therefore denying skewed economic realities.[79] In Chapter 8, I argued that this presumption of equality was fundamental to whites' spatial epistemologies and that it undermines blacks' memories of how the city has been shaped by racial inequality. Early development proposals and conversations about redevelopment after Katrina proposed that funding and redevelopment should be concentrated in the areas least affected by the storm and that neighborhoods like the Lower Ninth Ward would have to prove their viability (Brand, 2007a, 2007b). This redevelopment narrative is starkly different than those found in neighborhoods like the Lower Nine where residents questioned why 'the most well off were being helped' while the least well off were left to scramble and fight for redeveloping funding. These are example of the types of investment policies that planners' use in urban development that in many ways fundamentally perpetuate the already emplaced inequalities.

For planners, there is also a fundamental set of normative questions regarding the legitimacy and validation of emplaced racial communities, as presented in this study and in the work of scholars working on black geographies (Haymes, 1995; McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007; Schein,

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[77] Personal Communication with Flozell Daniels, Summer 2010.
[78] As this community land trust is new to the Lower Nine, I have not included a full analysis here.
[79] https://www.road2la.org/

2006). Whereas Marcuse (2005) and Young (2000) allow for ethnic enclaves or "differentiated solidarity" (Young, 2000, p. 197), their focus is less on theorizing the specific potential contributions that black communities make to theorizing a more democratic sphere. While they value these communities, they still emphasize individual freedom without fully exploring the ways in which racial inequality structures this freedom. While I agree with Young, particularly in her acknowledgement of the relationship between privilege and disadvantage (2000, p. 207), my argument is that this study and other empirical work on black geographies challenges planners to think of the urban realm not as one in which residents have equal capacities to differentiate or live in affinity groups (though this is a perfectly harmless ideal) (Young, 2000, pp. 224-225) but as a contested geography where inequality is the norm and where space is also potentially used to challenge inequality and hegemony. If this is the norm that we are starting from, then we need a more rigorous framework than simply allowing for difference and free choice in urban affinity grouping – we need a framework that is inherently liberatory, where the *cacophony* is about understanding what *difference* brings to challenging dominance.

Without overstating blacks' self-worth and resilience, planners' and policy makers might conceive of black spatial epistemologies as challenging dominant notions of how space is valued and how it should be developed. For instance, Lower Ninth Ward residents are telling planners (in meetings, through their protests, and through their own self-driven community development efforts) that their community and neighborhood have meaning that goes beyond the economic value of their land, that goes beyond the lack of urban amenities, that goes beyond patterns of disinvestment and inequality, and that goes beyond environmental vulnerability. There is a similar cacophonous voice in Treme, represented quite literally in the streets. Blacks' spatial epistemology connects geographic tenure with community resilience, which alerts planners to the importance of geographic tenure for black communities. Although planning must contend with urban change, economic challenges, and competing interests and ideas, this research raises critical questions as to what spatial epistemology planners reinforce.

If blacks' spatial epistemologies are rooted in a relational and dynamic understanding of the world, one that incorporates dualities such as self-worth and historical denigration and security and vulnerability, then planners and policy makers need to investigate how blacks conceptualize spatial development. In other words, they need to understand their worldviews and their claims to space and question how this framework might contribute to a deeper or more expansive understanding of

equality in an unequal democracy. Further, planners and urban policy makers need to address how blacks' spatial epistemologies present alternatives to generically liberatory schemes and policies that negate the importance of space for non-dominant groups.

From my own findings, I believe that planners have done little to challenge their own hegemonic spatial practices and normative assumptions about the role of space in constructing inequality. Further, they have done far less work to critically explore the potential of spatial development projects to actually meet the needs of minority citizens, who continue to live lives influenced by drastic economic and racial inequalities. For instance, we saw in Chapter 7 that planners have done little to support the Lower Nine's comprehensive view of sustainable development. While these development goals potentially connect economic, environmental and social sustainability, planning has all but ignored them. And while planners have embraced the notion of diversity and difference and they are charged with balancing competing urban interests, they have done little to question who diversity serves and where it is located (Fainstein, 2005), and even less to understand how it perpetuates white spatial epistemologies. Planning's over-emphasis and assumptions of equality means that its spatial epistemology embraces individualistic and rationalistic approaches to urban development and therefore fails to protect the city's vulnerable populations -their land claims and development aspirations. Further, planning tends toward descriptive techniques for diagnosing urban inequalities and, despite its distributional focus, often ignores the relational nature of privilege and disadvantage. Planning also tends to present abstract spatial representations (Lefebvre, 1991), rather than account for how space is experienced as social and political project and how it is used to construct urban meaning.

My findings suggest that black geographical aspirations provide alternative spatial visions for planning and that, in their community-oriented, interpretive, and relational understandings of how space is produced, blacks in this study present planners with different ways of constructing space in an uneven democracy. However, in order to produce a more just and equitable city, planning needs not only better outcomes, but better tools for evaluating the repercussions of their spatial work and a more rigorous analytical framework by which they question their own role in producing an equal or unequal urban landscape.

In addition to more rigorous analytical tools, my findings suggest that despite its overwhelming emphasis on democratic deliberation (Forester, 1989), the planning process itself needs to be re-thought in light of the types of information black spatial epistemologies provide us.
I argued in Chapter 2 that while narratives that convey the meaning and experiences of socio-spatial identities are reflective of and derived from space, they are overlooked in planning which instead focuses on structured planning processes and questions. Despite the extensive public participation in New Orleans, black residents said that they found it to be a joke and they were asked questions planners already had the answers to. This form of tokenism is of course at odds with deliberative practitioners basic tenants, but I think that their critique goes beyond mere limits of the practice and points to the structural issues within deliberation.

Importantly, these narratives connect historical issues of race and inequality to represent urban meaning and justify specific redevelopment frameworks. Used differently by blacks and whites, narratives either diagnose contradictions in dominant urban development narratives or rely on these contradictions. Blacks' use of historical patterns of disinvestment, displacement, and neglect or *the presence of the past* in their narratives reflects and validates racially experienced and emplaced inequalities. Black residents' narratives also emphasize that the experience of racial dynamics and meanings remain active components of how residents interpret their *place in the city* in a literal and in a figurative sense. Both black and white residents strategically direct their narratives toward local or national audiences and either contradict or condone national narratives regarding the salience of race as constructing inequality. Whereas in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward, residents emphasize their resilience, culture, and emplaced racialized identities alongside emphasizing the lack of investment and history of neglect that have faced, residents in Lakeview emphasize a narrative that strategically ignores race and history as having meaning for redevelopment.

If residents use narratives to conceive of action in order to support or oppose specific spatial ideologies, then they also use these narratives to expose the critical tensions that lie in planning's support or neglect of specific spatial ideologies and meanings. For black residents in Treme and the Lower Nine, there is a critical lack of support for redevelopment strategies that allow residents to use sustainable or cultural development as strategies for economic and psychological survival and meaning and the planning tools available to them (comprehensive planning and zoning processes) have to a large extent failed these communities. Whereas planners' tools and approaches support

idealized white spaces such as Lakeview, they fail to support black residents' use of space to constitute positive socio-spatial identities.

This issue of representation seems at best, overlooked in the practice of planning, particularly within planning processes such as those that pervaded the city since Katrina. If residents in both the Lower Nine and Treme felt that their voices were not heard or valued within the city-led planning processes but residents in Lakeview felt that their voices were heard and valued, then at the very least there is a disconnect in the different dialogues occurring between planners and residents. Despite this type of evidence, much of deliberative planning theory ignores the potential issues here regarding this disconnect between residents in lower-income and minority neighborhoods and planners (Fainstein, 2010; Forester, 1999; Healey, 2003).

However, this research suggests that while planners should be more concerned with this disconnect between themselves and minority communities, this is more than a problem of how ideas are represented and communicated. Understanding how place is valued and interpreted through racial experiences at a minimum provides planners with the context for why residents in environmentally vulnerable and denigrated neighborhoods fight to return. Representation is, in another sense, a problem within our unequal democracy and for planners this presents a specific set of normative questions. If, as this study suggests, blacks and even many white residents in minority communities use space differently and have different ideas about how space should be shaped to fit their needs, then their ideas themselves are not represented by dominant spatial ideologies. Their critique of the city-led planning process and the overt tensions between planners and residents at these meetings in Treme and the Lower Nine seem to affirm this. If we considered this issue from a normative, democratic theory standpoint, I would argue, as Danielle Allen (2004) does, that the conditions of persistent inequality in the U.S. make it imperative that minority opinions and ideas are protected, valued, and heard within a representational democracy. For spatial development to be more democratic, then at the very least, these ideas and spatial conceptualizations or practices should be elevated rather than dismissed. For the city to become more democratic and for planners to contribute to realizing democracy *in space*, more varied proposals and benefits (such as those represented by Treme and Lower Nine aspirations) need to be built and supported. Further, we should think of this as an issue of domination and consider how the deliberative processes seek unification of ideas and therefore obscure remaining tensions and different worldviews.

Beyond merely presenting alternative spatial ideologies (i.e. cultural or sustainable) that could potentially contribute to a more varied and democratic spatial realm, blacks' narratives presented in this research also contribute to a set of normative questions regarding the distributional decisions that planners make in their daily practice. I have argued that residents in Treme and the Lower Ninth Ward have very different conceptualizations of fairness with regards to the distributional decisions made in planning when compared with residents in Lakeview. Lakeview residents believed that funding should go to their neighborhood because they work harder and contribute more. Comparatively, for Lower Ninth Ward and Treme residents, a fair funding and project distribution should reflect the historical effects of racism and redevelopment, but also the inherent economic inequalities that already shape their experiences of being black in the city. Black residents in Treme and the Lower Nine sense of distribution would best be viewed within a framework of *redistribution* to those least well off (and to those who have historically been least well off) and last to benefit from city services, and of *recognition*, in the sense that not only have blacks (particularly Creoles) built the city, participated in the economy, etc. just as whites have, they have also contributed to the culture of food, music, and cultural practices that the city depends on for its tourist economy.

This challenges planners to conceive of a more complex, historically cognizant, and racially sensitive framework. Without recognizing blacks' counter narratives and epistemological worldviews, planners cannot work to make a more equitable city because planners' current framework for action undermines their worth as a community. To acknowledge these different ideas of distribution, planners at the very least would need the types of stories and narratives presented in this chapter to better understand the different worldviews of the communities they work in. Beyond this, planners would need finer grain analysis on the role of public and private markets in patterning development and change, but they would also need a more racially just distributive framework that elevated the need for stability and geographic tenure for black, particularly low-income black, communities; an expansive economic framework that considered the use of land and space as mechanisms for freedom from economic marginalization; and a spatial knowledge about the importance of black spaces for "talking shit and sharing."

Planners have all but abdicated on these issues and particularly in trying to understand what basic amenities and goods a community needs to thrive and their role in bringing these projects into

fruition that would benefit current residents in black communities. If the issue of "fair" distribution is tipped toward those who already "contribute" the most to the city's tax base, then this system maintains the status quo of racially emplaced inequality and economic segregation (J. Tyner, 2006, pp. 70-71). Planners' distributional framework tends to emphasize citywide economic benefits, over direct benefits to minority communities. If blacks' in this study diagnose urban problems differently and have different spatial ideologies, then their views present alternative conceptualizations for how the city should be developed and how planners should distribute the city's resources across the urban landscape. Consideration of these ideas of fairness that diagnose urban racial inequality as a systemic (rather than individual) and spatial (rather than abstract) problem would potentially lead not only to a more varied, democratic urban realm, but a more just and equitable urban realm.

Planners in particular have failed to understand the differences in racially and historically based claims to space and the extent to which black residents' narratives were drawing upon histories of displacement, deterritorialization (Haymes, 1995), underdevelopment, and disempowerment. While black residents in Treme and the Lower Nine have understood planning and redevelopment proposals to be racially motivated, saying that their "survival was at stake", planners have ignored and devalued these historical connections to race and spatial development by framing their proposals within a rational economic development and environmental protection framework.

This research provides critical insight into how communities' benefit or do not benefit from traditional planning approaches and from planning's own perceptions of spatial development and temporal ordering. Because the planning practice tends to view space and development as finite and abstract from the systemic, historical, and current production of social, racial, and economic inequalities and because they do not fully incorporate or diagnose these inequalities into their own spatial ideologies, they often fail to promote more just spatial development proposals. The narratives presented in this dissertation challenge planners to rethink their distributive and benefits approach and to rethink how they value or devalue different spaces in the city. In interviews, black residents noted that long-term economic development projects seldom benefit them as a community, despite the promises made by planners, and often, they do further harm to a community's sense of geographical, psychological, and political security. Blacks' narratives about their future aspirations for their communities are contingent upon a deeper understanding of

fairness and racial equality in the present tense and they are seeking a change in the systemic devaluation of black spaces in the city.

Conclusion

> ...Black people will be in the street looking for a brighter day. The revolution will not be televised.... The revolution will put you in the driver's seat...The revolution will not be televised.... The revolution will be no re-run brothers; the revolution will be live. – Gil Scott Heron[80]

> In vain....I attempt to describe Zaira, a city of high bastions. I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past; the height of a lamppost and the distance from the ground of a hanged usurper's swaying feet; the line strung from the lamppost to the railing opposite and the festoons that decorate the course of the queen's nuptial procession; the height of that railing and the leap of the adulterer who climbed over it at dawn; the tilt of a guttering and a cat's progress along it as he slips into the same window; the firing range of a gunboat which has suddenly appeared beyond the cape and the bomb that destroys the guttering; the rips in the fish net and the three old men seated on the dock mending nets and telling each other for the hundredth time the story of the gunboat of the usurper, who some say was the queen's illegitimate son, abandoned in his swaddling clothes there on the dock.
>
> As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks it up and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls. – Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*[81]

This dissertation is fundamentally about the connections between race and place – about struggles for and over urban territory. From the empirical work presented in Chapter 5-7 and with many scholars working in the tradition of black political thought and black geographies, I argue that while place is the site and instrument of constructing racial hierarchies and difference, it is also the site of liberation from these racial inequalities. Blacks interviewed in this study had qualitatively different worldviews that shaped not only their support or opposition to planning development proposals and their formation of their own spatial visions, but also their ways of evaluating fairness and the distributional decisions made by urban policy and planning decisions. These differences present

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[80] (Scott-Heron, 1970)
[81] (Calvino, 1974, pp. 10-11)

normative questions for the theory and practice of planning within unequal democratic urban settings. In particular, my arguments about planning question its spatial epistemology, which tends to reinforce non-relational and individualistic approaches to urban development and a capitalist development framework. In doing so, planning tends to undervalue – and even deny the salience of – non-dominant spatial epistemologies that view the city as relational and offer a more community-oriented development framework.

My arguments, when cogent, hopefully indicate that not only do blacks have different spatial epistemologies, but that these present planning with new possibilities for building better and more equitable cities. For instance, this study presents planning with empirical evidence regarding the positive dimensions of even the most denigrated neighborhoods – and therefore charges planners with the task of balancing these positive aspects and aspirations with their attention to inequality. The question is not so much to prescribe planning action – but to question what spatial ideologies planning reinforces and those it obscures. Perhaps I take that charge for granted, but since planning became a professional practice because of the abysmal conditions in cities and since, in looking around the city, one cannot help but see that in the U.S. in the 21st century, these disparities are marked along racial and ethnic lines – I take a bit of liberty with this charge. This work raises the concern that despite the advancements made toward racial equality, we should not assume the project of freedom and democracy are fully realized (Dawson, 2011) – much less that our understanding of these concepts are fully spatialized.

Importantly, I think that the differences explored in the previous chapters – particularly the different visions for how we understand fairness and distribution, how we conceptualize the conditions of sacrifice inherent in democracies (Allen, 2004), and what the duality of black consciousness teaches us (Du Bois, 1994) – provide for us new ways of conceptualizing the spatial work and the decisions we make as planners that affect the lives of urban citizens. Ultimately, I think, as Gil Scott-Heron states in the quote above, that this work, with all of its faults, is about blacks "looking for a brighter day" and about our potential as planners to soak up and expand with their visions (Calvino, 1974, pp. 10-11).

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APPENDIX A

Table 8: Treme Demographics, 2000 – 2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Table 8: Treme Demographics, 2000 - 2010

Total numbers	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Population	8,853	4,155	-53.1%	-4,698
Total households	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Family households	2,064	827	-59.9%	-1,237

Racial & ethnic diversity (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Black or African American	92.4%	74.5%	-62.2%	-5,086
White	4.9%	17.4%	66.9%	290
Asian	0.1%	0.4%	80.7%	7
American Indian	0.3%	0.3%	-54.8%	-15
Other	0.3%	0.6%	-5.9%	-2
2 race categories	0.5%	1.4%	31.0%	14
Hispanic (any race)	1.5%	5.4%	70.2%	93

Gender (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Female	56.0%	48.1%	-59.7%	-2,959
Male	44.0%	51.9%	-44.7%	-1,739

Age (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
5 years old and under	11.6%	6.5%	-73.9%	-759
6-11 years old	12.1%	5.0%	-80.6%	-863
12-17 years old	10.6%	6.4%	-71.5%	-671
18-34 years old	23.2%	25.1%	-49.2%	-1,011
35-49 years old	19.8%	22.6%	-46.4%	-814
50-64 years old	13.0%	22.9%	-17.2%	-198
65-74 years old	5.4%	6.5%	-43.9%	-210
75-84 years old	3.2%	3.8%	-43.9%	-124
85 years old and older	1.1%	1.2%	-48.7%	-47

Households by type (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total households	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Female householder (no husband present) with children under 18	32.2%	13.0%	-77.4%	-855
Male householder (no wife present) with children under 18	2.6%	2.7%	-41.7%	-37
Married-couple family, with children under 18	6.8%	4.1%	-66.5%	-155
Nonfamily households, with children under 18	0.4%	0.2%	-70.8%	-10
Households with no people under 18 years	58.0%	80.0%	-23.1%	-459

Children in households (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Population under 18 years in households	3,022	731	-75.8%	-2,291
Children living as head of household	0.3%	0.1%	-89.0%	-8
Children living with mother only	61.7%	46.1%	-81.9%	-1,528
Children living with father only	2.8%	8.3%	-27.9%	-24
Children living with married parents	12.4%	18.2%	-64.5%	-242
Children living with grandparents	15.9%	18.7%	-71.5%	-343
Children living with other relatives	5.3%	7.3%	-66.9%	-107
Children living with non-relatives	1.6%	1.2%	-81.4%	-39

Elderly in households (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Elderly in households	851	477	-43.9%	-374
Living alone	38.7%	39.4%	-42.9%	-141
Living in family households	56.5%	53.5%	-47.0%	-226
Living in nonfamily households	4.8%	7.1%	-16.8%	-7

Occupancy status (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total housing units (full count)	4,254	3,037	-28.6%	-1,217
Occupied housing units	80.6%	63.0%	-44.2%	-1,516

Vacant housing units	19.4%	37.0%	36.2%	299

Renters and owners (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total occupied housing units	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Owner occupied	21.8%	34.3%	-12.2%	-92
Renter occupied	78.2%	65.7%	-53.1%	-1,424
Source: U.S. Census				

Table 8: Treme Demographics, 2000 - 2010

Total numbers	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Population	8,853	4,155	-53.1%	-4,698
Total households	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Family households	2,064	827	-59.9%	-1,237
Racial & ethnic diversity (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Black or African American	92.4%	74.5%	-62.2%	-5,086
White	4.9%	17.4%	66.9%	290
Asian	0.1%	0.4%	80.7%	7
American Indian	0.3%	0.3%	-54.8%	-15
Other	0.3%	0.6%	-5.9%	-2
2 race categories	0.5%	1.4%	31.0%	14
Hispanic (any race)	1.5%	5.4%	70.2%	93

Gender (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Female	56.0%	48.1%	-59.7%	-2,959
Male	44.0%	51.9%	-44.7%	-1,739

Age (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
5 years old and under	11.6%	6.5%	-73.9%	-759
6-11 years old	12.1%	5.0%	-80.6%	-863
12-17 years old	10.6%	6.4%	-71.5%	-671
18-34 years old	23.2%	25.1%	-49.2%	-1,011

35-49 years old	19.8%	22.6%	-46.4%	-814
50-64 years old	13.0%	22.9%	-17.2%	-198
65-74 years old	5.4%	6.5%	-43.9%	-210
75-84 years old	3.2%	3.8%	-43.9%	-124
85 years old and older	1.1%	1.2%	-48.7%	-47

Households by type (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Total households	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Female householder (no husband present) with children under 18	32.2%	13.0%	-77.4%	-855
Male householder (no wife present) with children under 18	2.6%	2.7%	-41.7%	-37
Married-couple family, with children under 18	6.8%	4.1%	-66.5%	-155
Nonfamily households, with children under 18	0.4%	0.2%	-70.8%	-10
Households with no people under 18 years	58.0%	80.0%	-23.1%	-459

Children in households (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Population under 18 years in households	3,022	731	-75.8%	-2,291
Children living as head of household	0.3%	0.1%	-89.0%	-8
Children living with mother only	61.7%	46.1%	-81.9%	-1,528
Children living with father only	2.8%	8.3%	-27.9%	-24
Children living with married parents	12.4%	18.2%	-64.5%	-242
Children living with grandparents	15.9%	18.7%	-71.5%	-343
Children living with other relatives	5.3%	7.3%	-66.9%	-107
Children living with non-relatives	1.6%	1.2%	-81.4%	-39

Elderly in households (2010)	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Elderly in households	851	477	-43.9%	-374
Living alone	38.7%	39.4%	-42.9%	-141
Living in family households	56.5%	53.5%	-47.0%	-226
Living in nonfamily households	4.8%	7.1%	-16.8%	-7

Occupancy status (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total housing units (full count)	4,254	3,037	-28.6%	-1,217
Occupied housing units	80.6%	63.0%	-44.2%	-1,516
Vacant housing units	19.4%	37.0%	36.2%	299

Renters and owners (2010)	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total occupied housing units	3,429	1,913	-44.2%	-1,516
Owner occupied	21.8%	34.3%	-12.2%	-92
Renter occupied	78.2%	65.7%	-53.1%	-1,424
Source: U.S. Census				

APPENDIX B

Table 9: Lakeview Demographics, 2000 – 2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 9: Lakeview Demographics, 2000 - 2010				
Total Numbers	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Population	9,875	6,394	-35.3%	-3,481
Total households	4,524	2,672	-40.9%	-1,852
Family households	2,657	1,566	-41.1%	-1,091
Racial & ethnic diversity	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Black or African American	0.7%	3.4%	213.9%	148
White	94.0%	88.2%	-39.3%	-3,646
Asian	0.7%	1.3%	15.7%	11
American Indian	0.1%	0.2%	21.5%	2
Other	0.1%	0.2%	11.4%	1
2 race categories	0.7%	0.8%	-21.9%	-15
Hispanic (any race)	3.7%	6.0%	4.8%	18
Gender	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Female	54.3%	51.6%	-38.5%	-2,063
Male	45.7%	48.4%	-31.4%	-1,418
Age	**2000**	**2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
5 years old and under	7.6%	8.7%	-25.8%	-194
6-11 years old	6.2%	6.9%	-27.8%	-170
12-17 years old	6.7%	6.7%	-35.3%	-234
18-34 years old	21.0%	29.5%	-9.1%	-189
35-49 years old	26.2%	20.7%	-48.9%	-1,264
50-64 years old	13.2%	19.1%	-6.2%	-81
65-74 years old	7.1%	4.1%	-62.9%	-441
75-84 years old	8.7%	2.8%	-79.3%	-681
85 years old and older	3.3%	1.5%	-69.9%	-228

Households by type	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total households	4,524	2,672	-40.9%	-1,852
Female householder (no husband present) with children under 18	5.4%	5.1%	-44.3%	-108
Male householder (no wife present) with children under 18	1.1%	2.0%	6.5%	3
Married-couple family, with children under 18	19.7%	22.7%	-32.0%	-285
Nonfamily households, with children under 18	0.1%	0.2%	32.6%	1
Households with no people under 18 years	73.7%	70.0%	-43.9%	-1463.188

Children in households	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Population under 18 years in households	2,017	1,427	-29.3%	-590
Children living as head of household	0.1%	0.0%	-100.0%	-2
Children living with mother only	15.1%	12.5%	-41.2%	-126
Children living with father only	2.7%	5.7%	48.7%	27
Children living with married parents	77.7%	77.4%	-29.5%	-462
Children living with grandparents	3.2%	2.6%	-42.7%	-28
Children living with other relatives	0.8%	0.8%	-25.6%	-4
Children living with non-relatives	0.4%	0.9%	61.1%	5

Elderly in households	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Elderly in households	1,834	516	-71.9%	-1,318
Living alone	36.1%	30.0%	-76.6%	-507
Living in family households	61.3%	64.0%	-70.6%	-794
Living in nonfamily households	2.6%	6.0%	-35.0%	-17

Occupancy status	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total housing units (full count)	4,805	3,399	-29.3%	-1,406
Occupied housing units	94.2%	78.6%	-41.0%	-1,854
Vacant housing units	5.8%	21.4%	160.9%	448

Renters and owners	2000	2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total occupied housing units	4,524	2,672	-40.9%	-1,852
Owner occupied	69.5%	68.8%	-41.5%	-1,305
Renter occupied	30.5%	31.2%	-39.6%	-547
Source: U.S. Census				

APPENDIX C

Table 10: Lower Ninth Ward Demographics, 2000 – 2010

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 10: Lower Ninth Ward, 2000-2010				
Total numbers	**Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000**	**Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Population	19,515	5,556	-71.5%	-13,959
Total households	6,802	2,101	-69.1%	-4,701
Family households	4,782	1,325	-72.3%	-3,457
Racial & ethnic diversity	**Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000**	**Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Black or African American	95.3%	92.4%	-72.4%	-13,452
White	3.0%	4.3%	-59.5%	-350
Asian	0.1%	0.1%	-36.4%	-4
American Indian	0.1%	0.3%	-38.3%	-11
Other	0.1%	0.1%	-59.0%	-12
2 race categories	0.7%	0.9%	-62.6%	-84
Hispanic (any race)	0.8%	1.8%	-32.0%	-47
Gender	**Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000**	**Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Female	54.3%	52.4%	-72.5%	-7,676
Male	45.7%	47.6%	-70.4%	-6,283
Age	**Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000**	**Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
5 years old and under	9.5%	9.2%	-72.4%	-1,341
6-11 years old	10.7%	7.9%	-79.0%	-1,650
12-17 years old	11.0%	8.1%	-78.9%	-1,691
18-34 years old	21.8%	23.5%	-69.4%	-2,951
35-49 years old	19.9%	17.8%	-74.5%	-2,890
50-64 years old	13.9%	21.7%	-55.7%	-1,510
65-74 years old	7.0%	6.6%	-73.1%	-996

75-84 years old	4.7%	3.8%	-76.8%	-700
85 years old and older	1.6%	1.4%	-74.5%	-230

Households by type	Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000	Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total households	6,802	2,101	-69.1%	-4,701
Female householder (no husband present) with children under 18	25.0%	20.2%	-75.0%	-1,274
Male householder (no wife present) with children under 18	3.3%	3.2%	-69.7%	-154
Married-couple family, with children under 18	15.3%	9.6%	-80.7%	-839
Nonfamily households, with children under 18	0.2%	0.1%	-80.8%	-13
Households with no people under 18 years	56.3%	66.9%	-63.3%	-2,421

Children in households	Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000	Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Population under 18 years in households	6,077	1,403	-76.9%	-4,674
Children living as head of household	0.0%	0.1%		2
Children living with mother only	41.4%	42.8%	-76.2%	-1,918
Children living with father only	4.4%	6.7%	-64.9%	-174
Children living with married parents	26.5%	21.7%	-81.1%	-1,304
Children living with grandparents	21.6%	22.3%	-76.1%	-997
Children living with other relatives	4.8%	5.6%	-73.0%	-211
Children living with non-relatives	1.4%	0.9%	-85.8%	-72

Elderly in households	Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000	Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Elderly in households	2,498	657	-73.7%	-1,841
Living alone	30.7%	26.2%	-77.6%	-594
Living in family households	67.0%	70.5%	-72.3%	-1,211
Living in nonfamily households	2.3%	3.3%	-61.7%	-35

Occupancy status	Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000	Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010	% Change, 2000 - 2010	Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010
Total housing units (full count)	7,941	3,806	-52.1%	-4,135
Occupied housing units	85.7%	55.2%	-69.1%	-4,704
Vacant housing units	14.3%	44.8%	50.1%	569
Renters and owners (2010)	**Total, Lower Ninth Ward, 2000**	**Total - Lower Ninth Ward, 2010**	**% Change, 2000 - 2010**	**Change in Real Numbers, 2000 - 2010**
Total occupied housing units	6,802	2,101	-69.1%	-4,701
Owner occupied	54.0%	61.0%	-65.1%	-2,391
Renter occupied	46.0%	39.0%	-73.8%	-2,310
Source: U.S. Census				

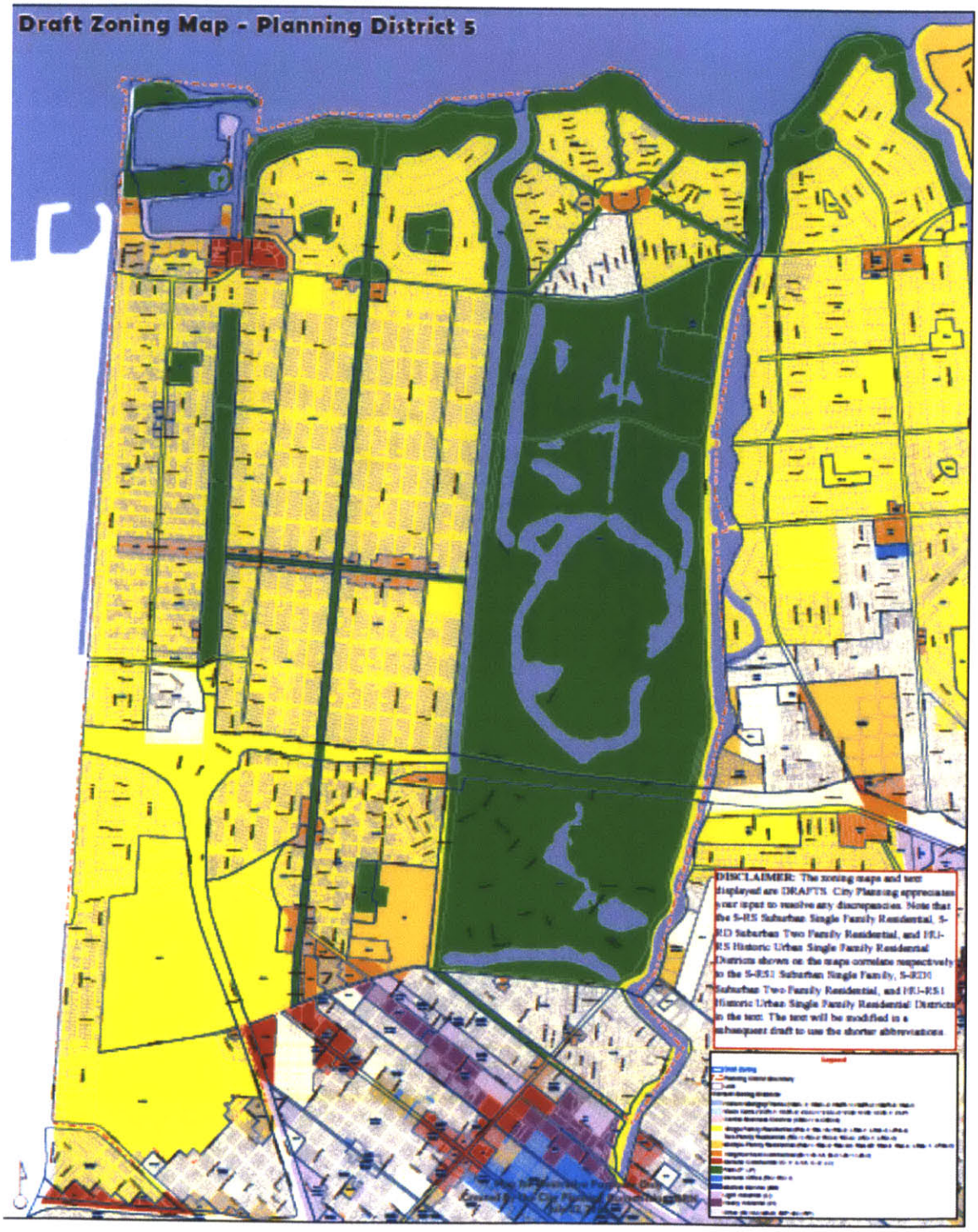
APPENDIX D

Adopted Land Use Plan, Lakeview

Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

APPENDIX E

Proposed Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance, Lakeview
Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org



APPENDIX F

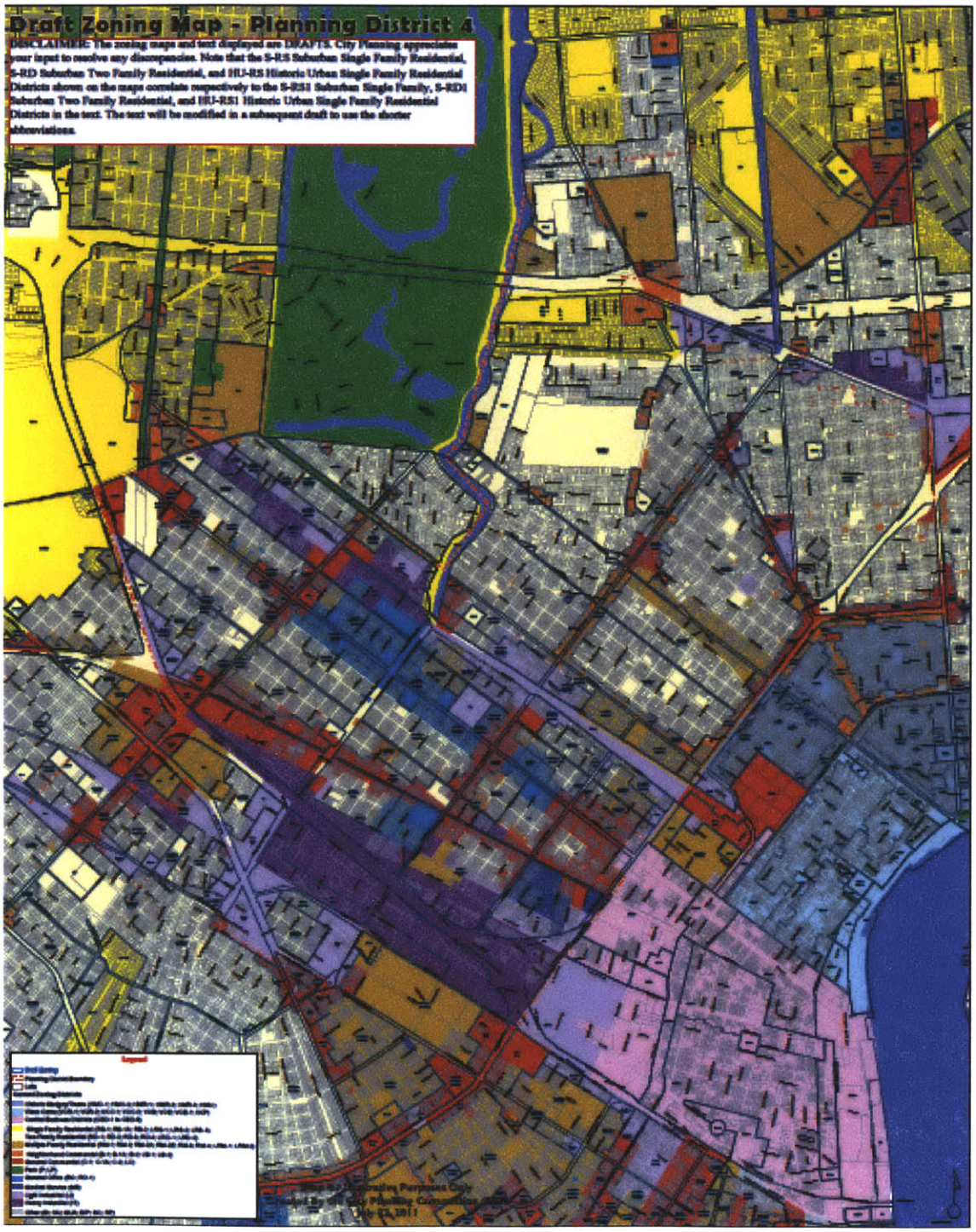
Adopted Land Use Plan, Treme

Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

APPENDIX G

Proposed Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance, Treme

Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org



APPENDIX H

Adopted Land Use Plan, Lower Ninth Ward
Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org

APPENDIX I

Proposed Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance, Lower Ninth Ward
Source: City of New Orleans, www.nolamasterplan.org